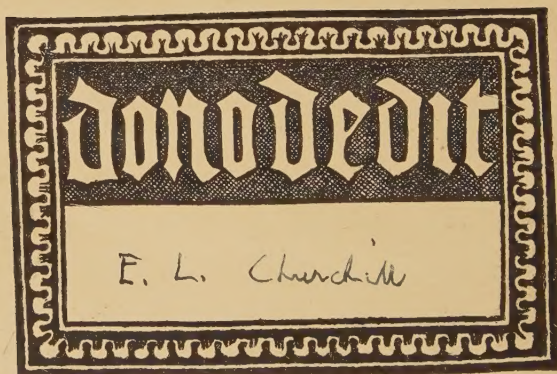
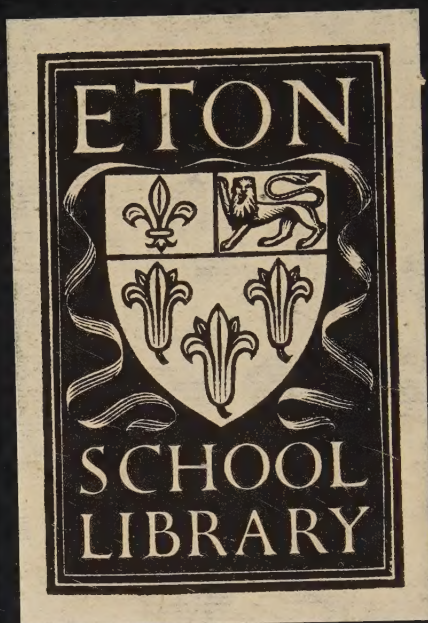
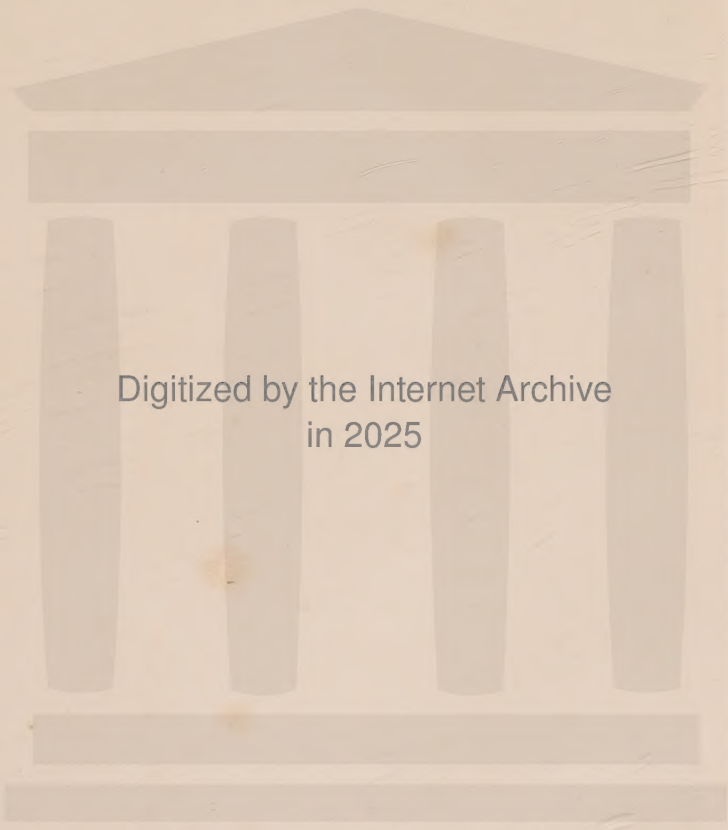






A HISTORY
OF
GREEK SCULPTURE.



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John Marry, Sculptor, Artist

Bronze head. — British Museum.

A HISTORY
OF
GREEK SCULPTURE

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NOTE.



As the text of this Volume has not been altered in the present Edition, the following references to Vol. I., under its original title of "Greek Sculpture before Pheidias," should now read :—

P. 16, note ²	...	...	p. 142 <i>for</i> p. 196.
P. 19, ,, ¹	...	...	p. 69 <i>for</i> p. 62.
P. 144, ,, ⁴	...	...	p. 131 <i>for</i> p. 286.
P. 145, ,, ²	...	...	p. 131 <i>for</i> p. 289.
P. 153, ,, ¹	...	...	p. 97 <i>for</i> p. 100.
P. 161, ,, ¹	...	...	delete.
P. 166, ,, ¹	...	...	p. 293 <i>for</i> p. 252.
P. 167, ,, ¹	...	...	p. 203 <i>for</i> p. 146, 149.
P. 180, ,, ¹	...	...	p. 232 <i>for</i> p. 184.
P. 227, ,, ¹	...	...	p. 265 <i>for</i> p. 213.
P. 238, ,, ¹	...	...	p. 238 <i>for</i> p. 192.

PREFACE.



IT may be that an acquaintance with the personality of an artist, does not promote in the end a true judgment of his work. But we cannot deny that it has often furnished the pages of the historian with charm and vivacity. The History of Greek Sculpture presents no such opportunity. It has no "Lives" to beguile the student along an arduous path. Only here and there an incident, handed down on mostly a dubious authority, breaks the narrative of work done and the examination of what remains of it to our day. The sculptors of ancient Greece seem to have lost themselves in their art, and this might have been a less misfortune for us, if it also had not since their time disappeared in a great measure.

As compared with the previous volume in which I described the progress of Greek Sculpture from the earliest times onward to the age of Pheidias, the present deals with a period from which fortune has been far more liberal in preserving monuments and records. We not only know the great names of a Pheidias and a Praxiteles; but we have some means of appreciating the justice of their fame in antiquity. Would that we had

more ! Yet to arrive at this appreciation involves, besides a careful study of the sculptures that survive, a constant piecing together of fragmentary records. By the industry of modern scholars, this long task of piecing together has been in some parts completed, and in others well advanced, so that in many places it is unnecessary now to go over well-beaten ground except for the purpose of verifying the steps by which an unanimous result has been attained. Where there still exists a not groundless diversity of opinion I have stated it generally in the footnotes, in order to relieve the narrative of what is not absolutely essential to it and yet to put on record what undoubtedly is often of great interest. Possibly this has been in some instances carried too far, as in the first chapter, on Idealism, and again for example in the chapter on Pheidias. So also to gain space for more important matters, I have given the works of Praxiteles, Skopas and others, in a tabulated form, and confined the discussion on the style of those masters to a few well-known sculptures accredited to them.

The Museums of Europe are more or less lavishly supplied with sculptures of the Græco-Roman class. Such charm as they possess—and it is frequently no small charm—they owe to the degree of faithfulness with which they reflect or reproduce older master-works of the Greeks. But it is only in comparatively few cases that the originals can be clearly traced ; and only where this is possible is there in my judgment occasion to describe the copies in a history of Greek Sculpture.

Though a contrary practice has prevailed and though it is true that we cannot linger among the crowd of Græco-Roman Sculptures without deriving some agreeable sensations, yet I question if there is enough gained thereby to compensate for a prolongation of the narrative at a point where, in the ordinary course, it must inevitably drag. I cannot pretend by this principle of selection to explain the absence from this volume of every sculpture which ought to be represented in it. But I can appeal for a general indulgence on account of the extent of material which it has been necessary to pass under review.

A. S. MURRAY.

BRITISH MUSEUM.

1883.

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A HISTORY OF GREEK SCULPTURE.

CHAPTER XIV.

Aristotle's definition of Art as an imitation of Nature—Limits to the power of imitating imposed by the materials in which the artist works—Technical training in the use of those materials and the origin of ideas in the course of this training—Combined effect of this training and of direct study of Nature—Tendency to idealize more from older works of art than from Nature—New departures connected with special study of Nature—Idealization of emotions and passions—Influence of splendid materials—Ideals of the deities.

THE history of Greek sculpture enters on an accumulation of difficulties when it approaches the age of Pheidias. Questions which it had been convenient to answer only partially in an earlier period, now demand a more ample enquiry, and, if possible, a satisfactory solution. First in importance among them is the question of Idealism;¹ not that idealism was new to Greek art in the age of Pheidias, but because it seems to have then attained its highest development, and because the sculptures surviving from his time cannot be fairly appreciated without a knowledge of this artistic quality and its limits under varying conditions.

In the ordinary sense of the word, when applied to artistic productions, idealism means a departure from

¹ In the judgment of M. Eugène Véron (*Supériorité des Arts Modernes*, p. 278), the most important and greatest progress made by humanity from the most ancient

times to our days, consists in the gradual substitution of the subjective and idealistic point of view for the objective and the realistic.

the obvious aspects of nature with the view of obtaining a higher degree of beauty in the work of art.¹ It implies at the same time that the artist is possessed of skill enough to represent these obvious aspects of nature in a manner generally acceptable to persons acquainted with the scope of artistic ability. So far it would seem that this departure must be regarded as directly hostile to Aristotle's definition of art as being an imitation of nature. But we have seen on a previous occasion that this definition must be held to cover all those necessary limitations which arise from the inadequacy of the materials in which the artist works, and that by "imitation" we should understand imitation as far as material resources will permit. Let us, however, change the point of view, and, instead of assuming the imitation of nature to be the governing impulse of the artist, in comparison with which his command of skill over material is a secondary matter, let us assume that his governing impulse is to exercise his power of manipulating certain materials and that the imitation of nature is, so to speak, only a junior partner in the concern.² The result in this case may be described as

¹ Hartmann (*Philosophie des Unbewussten*, 3rd Edit. p. 242), in describing the two prevalent theories as to the beautiful in art, observes that, according to the one theory, the human soul in matters of art goes beyond the beauty which nature presents. It is argued that this would be impossible if there were not in the soul an inherent idea of beauty, which under a particular point of view is called ideal, and which determines what is beautiful or not in nature, according as nature agrees with it or not. The other theory maintains that in the productions of art which best reproduce these ideals, there are no elements which are not to be found in nature also: that the idealizing activity of the artist con-

sists only in eliminating what is obnoxious, collecting and combining whatever of beauty is scattered in nature; and that the progress of æsthetic science has more and more demonstrated that the origin of æsthetic judgment is altogether subject to psychological and physiological conditions. In Hartmann's opinion both theories are in some respects right and in other respects wrong.

² According to Aristotle (*Nic. Eth. vi. 4*), there can be no art except where the source of it lies in the person himself. But the change in the point of view here proposed recalls the theory of Plato in the 10th book of the *Politeia*, which Grote (*Plato*, iii. p. 117) abstracts as follows: "He

an artistic production in which the resemblance to external nature is secondary to the display of technical skill. Yet it is no less an imitation of nature than when an artist seeks idealism by eliminating from external objects features and elements which he finds hostile to the ideal existing in his mind. The difference consists in this, that in the one case it is an arbitrary act to eliminate whatever appears to be incongruous in the obvious aspect of any object of nature, while in the other case it is an act of judicious caution not to approach nature nearer than the artist's consciousness of his skill leads him to approach her. In nature the artist has a wide field to choose from, and so far he is in a position of freedom as compared with his attitude towards his own technical training which guides and governs him at every step. It is in obedience to it that he appeals to nature to help him to bring into definite form ideas which had been generated in the course of his practice, and this nature does by furnishing him as she furnishes also the poet with analogies,¹ which enable

attacks the process of imitation generally as false and deceptive, pleasing to ignorant people but perverting their minds by phantasms which they mistake for realities. The work of the imitator is not merely not reality, but is removed from it by two degrees. What is real is the Form or Idea; the one conceived object denoted by each appellative name common to many particulars. There is one Form or Idea, and only one known by the name of Bed, another by the name of Table. When the carpenter constructs a bed or table he fixes his contemplation on the Form or Idea, and tries to copy it. What he constructs, however, is not the true, real, existent table which alone exists in nature, and may be presumed to be made by the Gods, but a something like the real existent table. Next

to the carpenter comes the painter, who copies not the real existent table but the copy of that table made by the carpenter. The painter fixes his contemplation upon it not as it really exists, but simply as it appears. He copies an appearance or phantasm, not a reality."

¹ We exclude from consideration here the operations of ordinary talent which produces artistic effects by intelligent selection and combination, guided by æsthetic judgment such as never leads to anything great, never creates an original, but always lacks the divine furor, the animating breath of unconscious power. Compare Hartmann (Phil. d. Unbew., 3rd Edit. p. 249). In contrast with the laborious working outwards from details which characterises ordinary talent, the conceptions of true

him to give forcible and intelligible shape to ideas. Without such analogies these ideas would remain vague and unshaped. It may thus be said, first, that art is an imitation of those phases or objects of nature which present the nearest analogies to images existing in the mind of the artist, and secondly, that these images, however they may originate, are largely conditioned by a knowledge of the capabilities for artistic purposes possessed by the material in which the artist is trained to work. When a child manipulates a piece of moist clay into the form of a dog, or draws with chalk the outline of some animal, it is not intended that he is impelled by a desire to imitate natural forms, since in fact the choice of his subject has been determined by what he has seen in a picture book. There remains, however, to be accounted for, the consciousness of his power to manipulate the material at hand and the will or desire to make his labour of manipulation intelligible by giving it a definite shape.¹ It may be said that this desire of the child to manipulate his piece of clay betrays an incipient sense of the beauty which resides

artistic power appear to descend from the gods *aus einem Guss*. If they lack anything it is the filling in of details.

When M. Eugène Véron (*Supériorité des Arts Modernes*, p. 380) contends that there can be no beauty in representing a human body incomplete, *i.e.* idealized, because its real beauty lies in the perfection of all its parts, he must be supposed to have had in his mind the process of idealization, as it may perhaps be called, followed by ordinary talent. Nor can he refer to the proceedings of true artistic power, when he says (p. 382), *cette théorie de la beauté physique du corps qui substitue un idéal convenu au corps réel et qui prétend atteindre cet idéal par la suppression de certains détails,*

me parait toute moderne.

¹ It would seem that here as in the case of adult artists also, the consciousness of power over given material must precede the will to make a beautiful object out of it; and that therefore the creative or productive power of the artist would first come into play in association with his will. On the other hand, if it be true that this consciousness is itself the offspring of a previous conflict between the will and an undefined, unconscious appreciation of the possibilities of the material, then it would appear that the will must first yield a part of its functions, and that the consciousness which results from this is if anything more the master than the servant of the will.

in a substance changed from a shapeless mass into a definite form, and it may be argued that this is indeed the first and most elementary principle of artistic beauty.

When we see a painter sketching a landscape which extends before him we conclude that he has been captivated by some charm or beauty in it, and are apt to forget that he could not have been so captivated had there not been in his mind beforehand, perhaps vaguely shadowed forth, the possibility of such a landscape.¹ The scene when he beheld it acted as an analogy to the image in his mind and enabled him to realize that image.² It is under the influence of this image already realized in its main features by perhaps the first sight of the natural scene that he seeks to transfer the colour and forms of the scene to his canvas. So that while he may be said to be realistic with reference to the image in his mind, he is idealistic with reference to the actual scene before him. To treat that scene with realism would be to allow himself to be carried away by

¹ It may be inferred from this illustration that the artist must to a great extent be subject to the chance which brings out the idea in his mind; and it is probably with reference to this element of chance that Aristotle quotes (Nic. Eth. vi. 4), from the poet Agathon the line τέχνη τύχην ἔσπερξε καὶ τύχην τέχνην. What the argument, however, assumes just now, is that the landscape itself could not excite ideas in the artist's mind, and on this point I may cite the following authority. "There was no refuting Berkeley," says John Stuart Mill (Dissertations and Discussions, p. 171), "when he said that what is passive and inert cannot cause or excite anything;" and again, p. 172: "He (Berkeley) thus anticipates the doctrine of which so much use has been made by later philosophers of a school opposed to his own, *that nothing*

can be a cause or exert power but a mind." Berkeley himself says (p. 302, edition of 1734): "It is infinitely more extravagant to say: A thing which is inert operates on the mind and which is unperceiving, is the cause of our perceptions;" and again, p. 315, "That a being endowed with knowledge and will should produce or exhibit ideas is easily understood. But that a being which is utterly destitute of these faculties should be able to produce ideas in any sort to affect our intelligence, this I can never understand."

² We may also with certain limitations regard this operation of the mind from the point of view of Plato as stated by Grote (Plato, ii. p. 219): "It is only the visible manifestation of beauty which strikes with sufficient shock at once on the senses and intellect to recall in the mind an adumbration of the primitive idea of beauty."

the analogy it presents, and although there is often inexpressible charm in the analogies of poetry and painting alike, yet it is obvious that to make complete subjects out of them—that is to treat them with thorough realism—is to make them co-equal with the image or idea which they are meant to serve and assist.

Ideas are caused by impressions derived through the senses, and artistic ideas must be caused by impressions conveyed through the sense of sight. Yet it is to be borne in mind, first, that the sight of an artist is not confined to natural objects in the ordinary meaning of this term, but on the contrary ranges more freely among the existing productions of art, and, secondly, that the impressions which the artist thus imbibes are to be distinguished from impressions derived directly from nature. They are impressions from ideas which have already been realized by a combination of skill and material; and if they in turn produce new ideas in the artist's mind, these new ideas, it is highly probable, will, when they come to be realized, present an artistic production in which the combination of skill and material will be still more conspicuous, and the original impression from nature more and more relegated to obscurity, unless in the meanwhile the artist betakes himself to nature to verify and freshen the original impression.¹

¹ As an illustration of what is here said, I may refer to the technical process in ancient jewelry known as granulated work, from the fact that the ornamentation on it is formed of minute grains or globules of gold, each globule separately made and soldered down in the design, the whole presenting an appearance like the surface of a sea-urchin without its spines. The difficulties in this process arise partly from the minuteness of the globules, but most of all from the unsuitableness of any ordinary solder to unite the globules in clusters. When these

difficulties were overcome, probably after a long series of attempts, the new process of amassing together large numbers of the globules would necessarily determine the character of designs in which globules were to be employed. If in preparing new designs, such as would carry out even to excess the crowding together of globules of gold, the designer had found an analogy in the sea-urchins, or other creatures familiar to the shores of the Mediterranean, he would be in the position of the artist whose training and practice has formed in his unconsciousness a quasi ideal which the

It is thus that the traditions of particular ages and schools of art continue to propagate themselves, or at all events to exert a constant influence on the formation of ideas in the minds of artists, and thus that works of art are steadily being produced, in which there is so little of the reality of nature and so much of that idealism, which is generated by experience of the possibilities of skill and artistic material.

It would seem then that in addition to the idealization of nature in order to make it conform to an idea in the mind of the artist, we may have also an idealization of the possibilities of skill and material in the production of works of art, and it is, I think, pre-eminently this phase of the question that we are called upon to consider before approaching the sculpture of the age of Pheidias.¹ It has been seen in regard to Myron and still more in regard to Polykleitos that they had been occupied with the idealization of living forms presented by nature, and had for the most part confined themselves to single statues, in the execution of which they could easily compare at every step the ideal in their minds

sight of an object of nature enables him to realize. It is quite erroneous to argue that the sea-urchins had so much impressed the minds of the ancient artists of Etruria that the artists invented step by step of a laborious process for the sake of imitating these creatures. Yet this is in effect what is commonly supposed even by men of technical skill. It may be true enough that primitive designers copied what they saw around them in nature. But it is quite another thing to say that the impressions they received from objects of nature caused them not only to invent corresponding designs, but also to invent the technical processes with which alone the designs could be executed. Yet this is what M.

Alessandro Castellani conveys (*Gazette Archéol.*, 1879, p. 167) when he says: "En effet, il est très-naturel que les premiers habitants des rivages de la Méditerranée, errant sur les grèves, aient admiré la beauté des coquilles teintes de couleurs variées, les tests calcaires des oursins couverts de dessins géométriques pointillés en relief." In the same volume of the *Gazette* (p. 206), M. Fr. Lenormant highly approves of this theory of Castellani.

¹ "Memory must be exercised before the powers of reason and fancy can be expanded: nor may the artist hope to equal or surpass till he has learned to imitate the works of his predecessors." Gibbon, *Roman Empire*, end of chap. LXVI.

with the reality of living beings.¹ It has been seen also that compared with this elaborate attention to the details of isolated statues the earlier ages of sculpture had indulged rather in large compositions of figures conveying dramatic effect to the spectator; and now, after an interval in which the figure itself, whether of man or animal, has been purified, refined and exalted by idealization from nature, we return to a period in which large compositions again prevail. If it is true that the idealization of this later period is based on new possibilities of skill and material, the same must be true of the earlier period also. But it can obviously be true only in a less degree, since the ascertained possibilities of skill and material were then far fewer, and the idealization of these possibilities presumably much inferior in scope. Idealization would, in fact, be mainly confined to the production of new compositions, and would practically leave out of account all improvement of the figure itself in regard to form. From the mere fact that the large compositions of the earlier age were purely decorative in the meaner sense of enriching the object to which they were applied, and from the circumstance of their having been often executed in costly and splendid materials, it is clear that the artists had followed not the objective² process of idealizing directly

¹ M. Lévêque (*Quid Phidiae Plato debuerit*, p. 50) says: "It is men who make Doryphori and canons of the human figure; but the highest ideal of beauty was sculptured in our mind by the deity when he brought us into the world."

² It might be argued that any process which is termed "objective" would be also rightly termed "realism," and that in fact "objective" idealization is a contradiction in terms. The phrase, however, indicates conveniently that the ideal of the artist is verified by a direct analogy from an object of nature,

and it may be defended by pointing out that an ideal is strictly an object to the mind which is occupied with it. In what is here called an objective process as distinguished from the next following subjective process, we have at once an object of sense to which the artist's sensible perceptions are applied, and a kindred but yet independently conceived object of his intelligence here called his ideal (compare Grote's *Plato*, ii. p. 439). In "subjective" idealization, the object is altogether an object of intelligence, and is therefore conceived subjectively.

from nature, but the subjective process of idealizing a scene from their own accumulation of impressions as to the possibilities of art, and then verifying the ideal so far as seemed necessary by reference to the analogies of nature and human conduct around them. A comparison of the early Greek vases, dating from about the period in question, will show with what constancy the main elements of composition were adhered to and repeated as if they were artistic formulæ established for all time. It is true that the perpetuation and to a great extent the development of any artistic manner which has met with general approval is a different thing from the origination of that manner, and in many instances the works so produced though properly described as ideal yet owe none of their idealism to their immediate authors. That is to say, the ideal before the artist's mind has been caused by impressions derived wholly from idealized works of art already existing. Still it is in this way that artistic manner and technical processes pass from age to age and country to country, mostly improving as they pass and gradually preparing for the advent of a new element.

When a new element which has been developed independently, such as the idealization of individual forms directly from nature accomplished by Myron and Polykleitos, came to be introduced into the older manner of large and agitated compositions, the task in many respects resembled that which fell to the great Athenian dramatists about the same period. For them also there was an immediate past of the highest finish and perfection of detail in poetry and a more remote past of great exuberance of language and wealth of poetic material. The fertility of each period, became in time, so to speak, able to reproduce itself in an almost mechanical fashion, and when this stage of weakness was reached a new element was introduced by the dramatists in which it was sought to combine from the one period the highest poetic finish and from the older

period a wealth of incident and narration. It was a corresponding task that fell to Pheidias. He had to effect a combination between the older manner of idealizing the possibilities of skill and material in sculpture and the more recent manner of idealizing individual figures from nature.¹ In this latter direction some appear to have judged him less successful than Polykleitos, and probably in either direction taken separately he may have been excelled by others. It was in the combination of them that his strength lay, and we must be careful not to expect from him any artistic element outside of this combination. We need not, for example, look for the expression of subtle emotions.² Art had

¹ "To recognise physical beauty," says M. Lévêque (*Platon considéré comme le fondateur de l'Esthétique*, p. 18), "was easy even before the times of Pheidias and Polykleitos, but to set it in its right place as secondary was a moral advance. To define it as consisting in the conformity of this or that body, face, or natural being of any kind with an ideal model which resides in the deity, that was a grand advance in philosophy." The argument of M. Lévêque is that Plato saw all this in the sculptures of Pheidias. He proceeds (p. 27): *Cette théorie que je compose de fragments empruntés aux plus grands dialogues de Platon ne renferme-t-elle pas la philosophie complète de l'art? N'y voyez-vous pas la doctrine si vraie et si féconde de l'expression, le génie concilié avec la raison, l'inspiration avec le travail, la réalité avec l'idéal, le visible avec l'invisible?*"

² M. Eugène Véron (*Supériorité des Arts Modernes*, p. 396) says the Greeks were condemned never to surpass the ideal of Pheidias with its majesty which is an equivalent for immobility of soul, and the ideal of Praxiteles which is nothing but the life of the

body. We may properly, he proceeds, admire this Greek beauty, but that is not to say that art should not go beyond it. In art as in morals the body should be inferior to the soul. But in Greek art the soul reveals itself only in the expression of certain restrained emotions. On the other hand it is not to be forgotten how much the Greeks were able to express by the types of figures which they selected to convey inner emotions. A slight indication or hint of pain from one person will convey a deeper impression of it than the writhings of another. In dealing with Myron we pointed out what he seems to have accomplished in this direction, and M. Véron is also well aware that this was in fact the general bent of the Greek mind. For he says afterwards (p. 465), *il en résulte que l'intelligence des anciens, possédée de la manie du général, aboutit forcément en toutes choses à la conception des types, conception qui d'ailleurs résulte forcément dans les arts de la considération exclusive de l'action et de la mise en scène des actes légendaires.* Again (p. 466), *Leurs personnages, dans la peinture comme dans la sculpture, ne se*

not, up to then, applied itself to the study of these phenomena, and therefore had not amassed a body of experience on which his idealizing faculty could operate. That was left to a succeeding age, and this circumstance reminds us that the idealism of Pheidias though great from its being a masterly combination of two highly developed systems did not yet contain everything that may properly be included in idealism. The art of Pheidias may be compared to the junction of two streams which thenceforth lose in sparkle and impetuosity but gain in expressiveness and power. It has been argued¹ in reference to modern art, that its only hope lies in conforming to the present habit of judging, for example, of passions and emotions, not as the passions and emotions of some special individual but rather as human phenomena of general interest. To us Phaedra is no real person but a mere peg on which to hang a particular passion. She represents it in its characteristic and normal phases as they may be seen recurring among mankind. Even scenes and objects of nature appear to be viewed by poets now only so far as they recall spiritual analogies. The rage of Achilles is no longer a "headlong stream," but a real headlong stream on a mountain side is compared to the raging of the hero, and thus gradually any distinctiveness in the personality of Achilles beyond what is needed to make him recognisable, is improved away. The climax of this habit of thought will correspond to the substitution of an automaton for a distinctive bodily presence,

distinguaient donc que par la différence générale des types.

¹ M. Véron (*Supériorité des Arts Modernes*, p. 385) points out that in a modern tragedy the person is reduced to a passion or an idea, while with the ancients, the person se présente toujours de face. Achilles when in a mood of anger or kindness was always Achilles. And again (p. 320), in speaking of

the sentiment of nature in modern poets, who see themselves and human life in all phases of nature, he says: "Each one sees in the world outside himself nothing but himself, and paints himself in the objects of it. His descriptions are nothing but psychology. La nature n'en est que l'occasion ou le prétexte."

and if the art of sculpture must conform to it, none of its traditions will suffer more than those of beauty in the physical form as idealized directly from nature. On the other hand, much of this idealization of form has its origin in the processes of working in marble and bronze, but especially in marble, and if these materials were to be abandoned sculpture might find means to enter on the new life which may be supposed to await it. A return to the delicately stained ivory and richly decorated gold of Pheidias might open successfully a new path. Failing this, many other things may be possible.

We do not say that Pheidias was the first to introduce these materials into sculpture for the purpose of effecting his new combination. On the contrary, they had been employed from early times. Yet the fact remains that his greatest achievements were his statues of gold and ivory, and we must conclude that these materials more than others had lent themselves to his genius. Obviously they lend themselves to effects, if indeed they do not demand a treatment, in which purity of form is no longer a first necessity.¹ Their splendour might, perhaps, if subservient to an ideal developed amid the possibilities of marble or bronze, add little beyond subtle charms of softness and colour. But where this splendour and its possibilities enter into the formation of the ideal, it could scarcely be but that the imagination would derive from them a powerful guidance in its endeavours to people the unseen and unknown with beings of the loftiest type. Powerful in this respect also must have been the spirit of philosophic enquiry which before and during the time of Pheidias had kept abroad

¹ It may be urged against this that Polykleitos was famed for his purity of form, and that nevertheless his most celebrated statue was the Hera of gold and ivory in the Heræum near Argos. But it does not follow that in this statue he had anything like exhausted the capa-

bilities of these materials. He appears rather to have seen in them the possibility of great refinement, and to have been more or less satisfied with that. The question here is as to an artist whose mind is of a disposition to utilize these materials to their utmost.

a clear apprehension of the finiteness of human intelligence and human capabilities in contrast to the infinite intelligence and infinite power implied in the phenomena of the external world. It may be argued that the more distinctly these limits are drawn by philosophers and announced to the world, the more difficult it becomes for an artist to form an ideal of what lies beyond his mental grasp.¹ In ordinary circumstances it may be so. But Pheidias lived in a time, fortunately, still rich in the productions of an artistic imagination which had long wandered in the realm of the unknown unchecked by exact knowledge. That these productions must have often, if not mostly, appeared to him to be very inadequate representations of the ideal beings who peopled this realm, there need be no doubt. He would not, however, on account of their inadequacy be justified, as an artist in our day might perhaps be, in concluding that to proceed in this direction is an impossibility and useless. He would rather be bound to make a new effort and to bring to bear upon it the whole force of his nature.

Compared with the landscape painter, for example, to whom nature furnishes an analogy to the ideal landscape present in his mind, Pheidias was at this disadvantage, that nature could not supply him with direct analogies of form for the deities whose forms existed ideally in his mind. Yet to a mind conscious

¹ M. Lévêque puts this subject in another way in a thesis entitled *Quid Phidiae Plato debuerit* (Paris, 1852), in which he describes the harmony between the ideal figures of the gods of Pheidias with the ideal beauty residing in the gods of Plato, and deduces an influence of these sculptures on the mind of the philosopher. No doubt, to Plato the deity was incorporeal. What he argued was (M. Lévêque, p. 59) that a person contemplating beautiful human forms illumined by beautiful souls, thinking of

them without lustful desires, and gradually conceiving from them a general (*καθ' ὅλου*) beauty, would be led back to the forever true idea of supreme beauty which we once knew in heaven, but have forgotten since our fall to earth. According to Plato's doctrine of ideas the sight of beauty accompanied with intelligence and wisdom, leads us back by a sure and certain path to divine regions. To Pheidias and Plato alike the deity and supreme eternal beauty are one and the same (p. 56).

of mastery over artistic material, be they ever so splendid, and imbued with a sense of the vastness and beneficence of the powers of the visible world, there could not but arise from this source analogies of power and beneficence by which he could verify his ideals and so define them that they would be understood by every one similarly imbued with a sense of these powers.

CHAPTER XV.

Rebuilding of the temples on the Acropolis after the Persian invasion
—Relation of the Hekatompedos to the Parthenon—Older treatment of the subjects sculptured on the Parthenon—Possible derivation of the frieze of the Parthenon from the older Hekatompedos—Position of Pheidias with reference to the sculptures of the Parthenon.

ATHENS was a mass of ruins when the Athenians flocked back with their wives and children after the battle of Salamis had broken the strength of the Persians, and the decisive victory of Plataeæ had brought about a sense of assurance in the public mind.¹ The first effort was to build new walls, and in this women and children toiled with the men, sparing no material whether of public or private property which could aid in the construction.² In time this energy of rebuilding extended to the acropolis, where there had stood two temples specially dear to the Athenians, the Hekatompedos and the Erechtheion. The Persians had sacked and set fire to both. It was determined to restore them in greater grandeur and, so far as the Hekatompedos is concerned, on a larger scale. Investigations³ have shown that while the old site, the plan,

¹ Herodotus, viii. 53. The soldiers of Xerxes sacked and burnt the acropolis. But this was not enough for Mardonios, who, after the battle of Salamis, returned to Athens (Herodotus, ix. 13), set fire to and completely overthrew every wall, house, and temple that had been left standing. Thucydides (i. 89) says that only a few houses

had been left in which the Persian leaders had encamped.

² Thucydides, i. 90.

³ Penrose, *Principles of Athenian Architecture*, pl. 34. At p. 73 he gives a vignette showing the pieces of columns and other architectural members from the Hekatompedos which had been used to build up the north wall of the acropolis.

and the Doric order were retained, an extension of 50 feet to the westward was added on to it, forming what is usually but not quite correctly called an opisthodomos, while the width of the whole was increased. The new building became known as the Parthenon, and under this name it has survived in a measure to our times. Strictly, and in official language, this name seems to have applied only to the west division of the cella, the east division of which was known as the Hekatompedos, and contained the statue of Athena.¹

The impulse which thus perpetuated so far as possible the architectural aspect of the older temple would, it may be argued, equally decide on retaining the character of its sculptured decorations, while extending and enriching them as far as art could go. But, on this interesting point the evidence is slight. There is in fact little more than a slab of bas-relief,² which, from its dimensions, has been thought to have belonged to the frieze, while from its artistic style many have argued that it would suit well a building begun by the Peisis-

The 50 feet of increase in the length of the new temple he identifies with the statement of Hesychius that the Parthenon was made 50 ft. greater than the Hekatompedos, and argues with Leake that the latter had been hexastyle. But Strack (*Arch. Zeit.* 1862, pll. 160—161, p. 241) gives it 8 columns in front and 16 at each side; Michaelis (*Der Parthenon*, p. 5, see also p. 119,) gives it 8 columns in front and 17 on each side.

¹ It would seem at first sight that the name of Parthenon ought to have been applied to that part of the cella which contained the Parthenos. But such was not the case, as has been shown by Köhler, *Mittheilungen d. Inst. in Athen*, 1880, p. 89, and by Dorpfeld, in the *Mittheilungen*, 1881, p. 298, pl. 12, where he gives the results of a

very careful examination of the interior.

² Engraved in *Greek Sculpture* before Pheidias, p. 196. Of the same scale and style is the archaic relief of a male figure in the dress and attitude of a charioteer, also found on the acropolis. See Milchhöfer, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, p. 181; Von Sybel's *Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen*, No. 5039, 5040. Penrose (*Athen. Architecture*, p. 74) quotes and approves the opinion of Mr. Watkiss Lloyd, that this slab had belonged to the Hekatompedos, and indeed this opinion after having been rejected by Michaelis (*Der Parthenon*, p. 123), Overbeck (*Griechische Plastik*, 3rd edit., p. 153,) and others, now seems to be gaining firmer ground than ever.

tratids,¹ and not quite completed when ruthlessly destroyed by Xerxes in B.C. 480, as appears to have been the case with the Hekatompedos. On the other hand this view with regard to the bas-relief has also been treated as without foundation. At the same time, so long as the possibility remains of this slab having formed part of the frieze of the older temple, it will be well to consider how far it may have determined the character of the frieze of the Parthenon,² notwithstanding the interval (B.C. 480—B.C. 454) which had elapsed between the destruction of the one temple and the building of the other. The relief in question represents a charioteer stepping up into a chariot, and if allowance be made for the archaic style, the ample drapery and the long, looped-up hair, characteristic of the early Athenians, it will be admitted to rank as an elder sister to any one of the many chariot groups on the Parthenon frieze. It is true that the difference of artistic style is very great. But even if it were greater that would not concern us now, since nothing more is here contended for than that the general scheme of the Parthenon frieze may have been adopted from that of the older temple. We have no difficulty in recognising for the sculptures which adorned the pediments older types of the subjects which they represent, and indeed it is a curious circumstance that the two subjects of these pediments existed in sculpture in immediate proximity to the Parthenon. No doubt, their existence is attested only in later times,³ but it is at least quite as probable

¹ Penrose (Athen. Architecture, p. 75) and Michaelis (Parthenon, p. 5) believe the Hekatompedos to have been begun by the Peisistratids and to have never been entirely completed.

² As long ago as 1837, Gerhard (Annali d. Inst. Arch. 1837, p. 116) says with reference to the bas-relief in question: "The choice and signification of the subject is

easy to explain, by comparing the similar processions of chariots on the frieze of the Parthenon."

³ Pausanias (i., 24, 2—3) observed near one end of the Parthenon, Ἀθηνᾶ τέ ἐστὶν ἀνιούσα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διός, and near the other end, πεποιήται δὲ καὶ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς ἐλαίας Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ κῶμα ἀναφαίνων Ποσειδῶν. This was pointed out by Loeschcke (Arch. Zeit. 1876, p.

that they were earlier representations which had been preserved from some motive of affection, as that they had been later studies from the Parthenon pediments. There is no need to suppose that they had survived from the Hekatompedos; nor any reason to exclude that possibility. What is certain from other sources of knowledge is, that the sculptor of the Parthenon found the two subjects of his pediments already existing in works of art.¹ His relation to them may be compared with that of Shakespeare to the early writers whose tales and plots he adopted.

By assuming the various elements of the procession on the Parthenon frieze to have been enlarged and enriched from the older temple to suit the greatly increased dimensions, there is this to be gained, that its infinite variety and splendour of movement, which now seem overpowering and out of comparison with the reality of an ordinary festal procession, may be explained as the result of a wealth of artistic invention lavished on a subject which had become familiar on the acropolis as a sculptured representation. Otherwise it must be judged as an idealization from a common reality, and that this is no easy task, the innumerable efforts to interpret it abundantly prove. In the age of Perikles, the Panathenaic procession was, doubtless, an occasion of public pride and agitation. Yet it seems to us now impossible to imagine that, with every allowance of this kind, it could have then been made to form, for the first time, the basis of so elaborate a conception. To Peisistratos,² on the other hand, belonged the glory of

118) who, however, thinks it more likely that these two sculptures had been executed later than the Parthenon.

¹ That the sculptor of the Parthenon was the first to bring these two subjects into conjunction with each other is, at least, open to doubt.

² Compare A. Mommsen, *Heor-*

tologie, p. 117; Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 26; and Boetticher, *Zophorus am Parthenon*, pp. 14—28. Peisistratos had engrafted on the annual celebration of the Panathenaea, a far more splendid ceremonial to recur every four years. It was during one of these ceremonies that Hipparchos was slain (*Thucydides*, vi. 56).

establishing the greater Panathenaic games, and for his immediate descendants to have perpetuated this event by representing it on the temple of Athena was natural enough. That temple, to all appearance, owed its existence to them. The Panathenaic procession, treated with the simplicity of the archaic bas-relief of which we have been speaking, and extending along the comparatively small dimensions of the Hekatompedos, would be clear and intelligible as a simple idealization of a well-known scene in Athens. On the Parthenon frieze it is still an idealization of that scene; but the artist has united in it an ideal drawn from actual observation along with an ideal founded either on a previous rendering of the subject or on previous renderings of similar subjects. Of these alternatives the former appears to be the more consistent with the circumstances of the case. It illustrates the force of artistic tradition, and it explains the power of public sentiment in retaining on the principal temple a scene which, from its nature, belonged to the representations of an age of art which had passed away.¹ Its creation in the time of Perikles is incomprehensible. Its splendid elaboration then, from the simple product of an earlier period, conforms to what is known of the sculpture of that time; and that this simple product had existed on the older temple which the Parthenon was built to replace is, at all events, a strong probability.

¹ Representations of public games occur, for example, on the chest of Kypselos (Pausanias, v. 17, 4, and compare Greek Sculpture before Pheidias, p. 62—63), and on the back of the gold and ivory table in the Heraion at Olympia (Pausanias, v. 20, 1).

In Boetticher's theory, which is explained briefly in his *Verzeichniss der Abgüsse in Berlin*, 2nd edit. p. 200, the frieze of the Parthenon is, so to speak, an index to the purpose for which that

temple existed, that is, as he argues, to be a treasure-house and a place to contain the sacred vessels and other apparatus used in public ceremonies in Athens. Whether he is right or not does not affect my argument, since he would most probably hold that the Hekatompedos had also served this same purpose, and perhaps, also, would not object to assume that it had been adorned with a frieze equally suited to be an index to its purpose.

Whatever admiration and delight may be awakened by the frieze, the groups of the pediments and the metopes of the Parthenon, that admiration and delight must, it is agreed on all hands, reflect to the honour solely of one man. Who that man was there is no means now of saying positively. Yet something like certainty in the identification of him will be found to result from considering the fact that Pheidias not only himself made the great statue of the goddess within her temple, but at the same time was charged with the responsibility of all the works of sculpture then being executed at the public cost in Athens. Besides this, it must be obvious that an artist who could have designed and carried out the external sculptures of the Parthenon would have been so powerful a rival that his subordination to Pheidias is hardly conceivable. A pupil, or several well-trained pupils, working under immediate control, would have attained the uniformity of style which we now admire, would have satisfied Pheidias in his position of responsibility, and would have reflected his genius throughout, even if in parts they had been left free to design for themselves.

These external sculptures of the Parthenon, thrown into the shade by the gold and ivory statue of Athena within, scarcely receive a mention from the ancient writer to whom we owe most of our information on Greek art.¹ Dismembered as they have been by barbarians, broken up into pieces by the violence of a siege, and defaced in a great measure by neglect, they cannot now tell their own meaning always with clearness, as they might have told it with the aid of some ancient comment. Only from one quarter do they obtain valuable assistance in this respect, and it is of a comparatively recent date, when much of the work of destruction had already been done. Yet it is a fortunate circumstance that the drawings made by Carrey²

¹ Pausanias, i. 24, 5.

the Parthenon sculptures in 1674,

² Carrey made his drawings of for the Marquis de Nointel, the

previous to the Venetian bombardment of Athens have been preserved, most of all his drawing of the west pediment, which down to that occasion had escaped harm better than the sister pediment on the east front, but suffered more seriously then. Carrey's drawing not only makes it possible to assign their proper places to torsos and fragments in Athens still, or removed to the British Museum by Lord Elgin,¹ but it also provides a wholesome check on the imagination when tempted to restore the west pediment. Of the sculptures of the east pediment there exist certain figures from each extremity. They are in the British Museum. Neither Carrey nor any other guide has yet been found for a satisfactory restoration of the great central group. Many of the metopes may be seen on the Parthenon still, but they are almost completely defaced. Lord Elgin had removed the best preserved of them to the British Museum. Of the frieze he took away a great part of what had survived to his time, leaving unbroken the spell of its western front. Slabs more perfect than these, or than any one of those which now adorn the Elgin Room of the British Museum, have since then been recovered from the surrounding ruins, and may be seen on the acropolis, whither many a pilgrimage continues to be made.

The loss of the central groups in both pediments with every allowance for Carrey's drawing from one of them, leaves us without the impression of powerful dramatic action which these groups may reasonably be judged to have vividly conveyed if we consider only the remaining figures, broken and abraded though they are. The

French Ambassador at the Porte. For details concerning them, see Michaelis, *Parthenon*, p. 95. The shell from the Venetian battery which struck the powder magazine in the Parthenon, fell on the 26th

September, 1687.

¹ Lord Elgin sent his collection of sculptures home to London in 1812, and they were acquired for the British Museum in 1816.

absence of this impression is the absence of an important contrast to the placid continuity of the frieze moving on without any sense of climax, as from its nature it must move. It is true that the metopes to some extent supply a contrast of the kind required. But their action is not progressive towards a climax. Yet with every drawback from the want of its proper surroundings the frieze remains the best exponent to begin with of the sculptures of the Parthenon, and to it we now proceed.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FRIEZE AND METOPES OF THE PARTHENON.

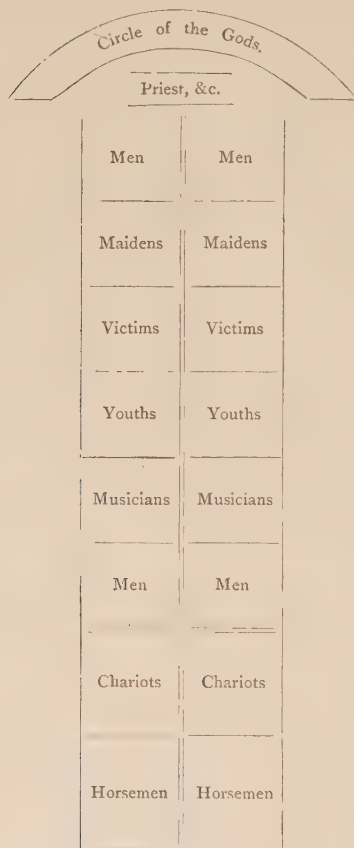
The Panathenaic procession—The frieze represents two sides of the procession—East frieze : invisibility of the gods on it—They are to be viewed as seated in a semi-circle in the background—Application of the theory of a dual character in the frieze as a whole—Particular motives in the frieze—Youth fastening his sandal in West frieze—Horsemen—North frieze—Cavalcade—Charioteers—Persons bringing animals, &c. for sacrifice—The gods on the East frieze—The *peplos* question—Priest and priestess—Characteristics of style—The metopes—Nature of the reliefs and their position—Subjects of the metopes—Detailed examination of them—Influence of athletic exercises—Characteristics of style—Comparison with the sculptures of the Theseion—Traces of archaic style.

THE frieze which crowned the cella wall of the Parthenon and still crowns the western end of it, represents in duplicate to a great extent a festal procession, at the head of which cows and sheep are being led to be sacrificed. Daughters of the best houses in Athens walk in front of the victims, carrying vessels for use in the sacrifice. They advance with a grave mien and a uniformity of costume and appearance becoming an occasion, when even if they were not required to be present at the actual slaughter of the victims, they had at least a preliminary ceremony to perform in immediate connection with it.¹ Having done this they may have passed into the temple, in front of which the rites

¹ On a vase in the British Museum (Catalogue, No. 1328) is a female figure carrying a phiala and oenochoe resembling these vessels in the Parthenon frieze.

She stands behind a priest, who raises his knife to slay a bull, which is led forward to the altar by a Victory.

took place. Behind the victims there follow youths carrying larger vessels (hydriæ) for the ceremony, musicians already playing their flutes and lyres, and a group



of men of riper age. So far all are engaged in forwarding the sacrifice. But here the slow line of persons moving on foot appears to be overtaken by impetuous chariots, followed by no less impetuous horsemen. It is scarcely possible that these chariots and horsemen were ultimately halted and formed into order to view the sacrifice, even if it had been performed on ground suitable for their movements, instead of on the acropolis as it is assumed to have been. There is, however, no need to suppose that the artist had intended to convey any information either way on this point, since it will be seen that the chariots and horsemen with their various prepa-

rations for starting, and their gradually increasing speed, serve only to indicate the beginning and earlier stages of the procession. On the frieze altogether he has represented the last part of a procession starting and the first part of it arriving at the goal, yet in such a way that the junction of the two where a chariot overtakes men on foot, may itself have been a familiar enough incident at many points from the start to the close, and thus for artistic purposes the whole scene may be said to be brought before us.

To what extent this procession is represented in duplicate,¹ as we have said, may be seen from the accompanying plan, on which its various component parts are indicated, beginning with the groups of men who already have taken their places and receive the advancing maidens. Take from the east frieze its central assembly of seated deities, and there remain on each side, groups closely responding to each other of men and maidens. Then compare the whole of the south frieze with the north, and the various elements of each will be found to respond similarly. Or better, let us imagine the marble blocks on which these two friezes are sculptured to be placed back to back in their natural order, and it will be at once evident that they thus constitute the two sides of a procession, as seen at the same moment from two sides of the road. To annihilate in imagination the whole breadth of the Parthenon, which in reality separated these two friezes, and to have been able after seeing both separately to combine them in this manner, would hardly have presented a difficulty to Greeks of the time of Pheidias, familiar more or less with works of archaic art, in which the natural desire to have both sides of a thing pictorially represented had gradually led to fixed conventionalisms in composition.² The two groups of gods, for example, on the east frieze of the Theseion at Athens, must be imagined to be

¹ On the unity of both processions see Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 298: "Die bestrittene Einheit der beiden Züge ist durch die Betrachtung der Composition unzweifelhaft geworden, vor allem an der Ostfront, sodann aber auch durch die eben nachgewiesene Beziehung der beiden Langseiten."

² On the earliest painted vases where animals occur, it sometimes happens that when a lion, for example, is represented, both sides of him are drawn. The result has the appearance as if it were

two lions, standing confronted, but with only one head between them. Apparently the next stage was to represent two lions, both strictly in profile, standing closely confronted, when the intention was only to figure both sides of one lion. The two lions, as they appear to be, above the gateway at Mycenæ are an instance of this. I have discussed this question at some length and given a series of illustrations in the *Journal of the Hellenic Society*, ii. p. 318, pl. 15.

seated away in the background, and the space they occupy to be annihilated to enable the warriors to strike at their foes, and not, as would seem now, at the deities.

It was the west frieze of the Parthenon which the visitor to the acropolis saw first, and there all is preparation and starting. By far the greater part of the movement is towards the north side, and no doubt this was also the usual direction of visitors, to whom there was little or nothing of interest on the narrow space between the Parthenon and the south wall of the acropolis, while the ground immediately to the north possessed every attraction.¹ But it may be asked, if these horsemen are to swell only the cavalcade on the north frieze, what becomes of our theory that both friezes represent the two sides of a procession seen at one and the same moment? Why also was not the west frieze divided into two equal parts, with horsemen moving in opposite directions, as our theory would seem to require? On the other hand it is to be remembered that the western frieze is occupied practically with the starting and its various incidents, all of which must be supposed to occur in a wide open space.² Though the movement is mostly in one direction, the whole scene represents evidently a moment of incompleteness, and to some degree, confusion; and there is no need to suppose that the prevailing movement in one direction is other than a purely artistic continuity, while the reason why this continuity tends to the north side is well explained by the circumstance just mentioned, that visitors also would most naturally take this course. So far then the procession appears in three different

¹ Michaelis, in his new edition (1880) of Jahn's *Pausaniæ Descriptio Arcis Athenarum*, assigns nothing to this south side of the Parthenon on the plan which he gives, pl. I. So far then as we know, Pausanias found little there to interest him.

² The place for preparation seems to have been near the Prytaneum. Pausanias (i. 2, 4,) says, *Εἰσελθόντων δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἰκοδόμημα εἰς παρασκευὴν ἔστι τῶν πομπῶν ἃς πέμπουσι τὰς μὲν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος τὰς δὲ καὶ χρόνου διαλείποντος.*

stages: the starting of the last horsemen, with incomplete preparations and scattered groups; the full tide of movement of horsemen and chariots, when music and the general commotion excite the blood of the horses, but rather solemnize those who control them; and thirdly the measured, grave pace of those who accompany the victims for the sacrifice.

In the centre of the East frieze above the great doorway of the Parthenon is to be found, so to speak, the keystone of the whole ceremony. There, apparently in two groups, sits an assembly of deities in whose service the sacrifice is to be performed. From their nature they could not but be invisible in a scene of daily life. But although, in a pictorial design, it would be easy with the aid of perspective to obtain an equivalent for invisibility¹ by placing the gods in the background, it is to be recollected that even painting had not in the time of Pheidias attained to the management of perspective, and that the sculptor of a bas-relief, limited to the dimensions of a long narrow frieze, was necessarily driven to the use of a conventional grouping. The question of the invisible presence of deities in Greek art may be illustrated at different stages of its history by two painted vases in the British Museum. On the one (Fig. 1), is the combat of Achilles and Memnon, while Hermes stands in the background, as I conceive him to have been supposed to stand, holding a balance, in the scales of which are the souls of the two heroes. It is an instance of psychostasia. Clearly to modern interpretation both heroes would seem to be striking at the god, though this was far

¹ The invisibility of the Gods was contended for by Petersen, as for example, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 301, where he says; "dann sie sind ja als unsichtbar den Menschen dargestellt;" also by Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, p. 289, and

afterwards by Flasch, *Parthenon Fries*, p. 97, where he says: "In dem freien Raume aber zwischen dem versammelten Volke und der Priesterschaft da haben die Götter unsichtbar Platz genommen."

from their intention. A poet might conceive Hermes as actually invisible, standing between the thrusts of the spears, and like a vapour uninjured by them.



Fig. 1.—Archaic lekythos in British Museum.

But that would be too subtle a thought for representation in an early stage of art. The figures are black on a white ground, and the drawing is archaic. The next vase represents a lapse of about two centuries of art. On the lower ground is the death of Hippolytos¹; on the upper is a group of Athenian deities, of whom two at least, Aphrodite and Poseidon, were concerned in his death; the others, Athena, Apollo and Pan, were rather interested in his preservation. In a painting where perspective was employed these deities would have been placed simply in the background, and since there is no doubt but that perspective was frequently called into use by the great painters of the time of this vase, it is reasonable to conclude that the placing of the gods in the upper field indicates the first element of that artistic method. It is true that the same phenomenon occurs again and again on the sculptured friezes of Assyria, and it may appear strange that the Greek artists of the time of Pheidias were unacquainted with it. Yet the fact remains that as we have seen in Fig. 1 even a vase painter of nearly that age, to whom the Assyrian method of perspective would have offered a special attraction, had not abandoned for it the conven-

¹ Engraved, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, pl. 6.

PLATE I



SELECTIONS FROM FRIEZE OF PARTHENON—WITH PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF EAST FRIEZE.

tional manner of his own nation. Much less is it likely that a sculptor would have done so, confined to the narrow band of a frieze.

The seated groups on the frieze are deities, and if they interrupt the movement of the procession, the analogy of Fig. 1 would point to their having been understood by the ancients as placed in the background of the scene, and I accordingly had a drawing made (reproduced on pl. 1), to show what the general effect would thus be.¹ The reason for arranging the gods as they are there arranged in a semi-circle, originated in observing an engraved gem in the British Museum, where an assembly of the gods of Olympus (ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΘΕΩΝ ΕΝ ΟΛΥΜΠΩ as it is written on the gem) is disposed very nearly in this manner. And many other considerations justify this position. But first it is necessary to reflect whether there is in fact no way in which these two groups of deities—now completely separated from each other—could be supposed to be invisible in the background and yet remain distinct groups. On an Etruscan tomb² at Tarquinii, known as the Grotto delle

¹ The plate here referred to appeared in the *Revue Archéologique*, xxxviii. pl. 21, with an article (p. 139) in which I advocated in the main the same theory as now. In the same article (p. 143) the gem with the *ekklesia* of the gods is engraved. Overbeck, in the 3rd edition of his *Griech. Plastik*, i. p. 332, accepts and adopts this arrangement of the gods in one united body, but supposes them to have taken their places invisible to men in the open space before the Parthenon. But by assigning them to the background of the composition, there is no limit to the distance at which they may be conceived to be seated looking on, and we thus get rid of what seems to me an unpleasant conflict of ideas between the nearness and the in-

visibility of the gods. Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 107, speaks of the *εὐκυκλος ἔδρα* of the gods in Olympus, and the scholiast further refers to the *κυκλοτερές συμπόσιον* of the gods at the marriage feast of Peleus.

² These paintings are engraved on a small and insufficient scale in Mus. Etrus. Vatic. i. pl. 101. But full-sized and coloured copies of them are exhibited in the British Museum. They are partly engraved also in Micali's *Ant. Pop. Ital.* pl. 68, and are described by Dennis (*Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 2nd edit. i. p. 373). The date of this early tomb is discussed by Helbig in the *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.* 1863, p. 352, and 1870, p. 53, and also by Brunn, in the *Annali* of 1866, p. 424.

An idea not unlike that of the

Bighe, are painted long scenes of athletic games, and at the ends of the several friezes are groups of from seven to eight persons seated on an elevated platform and watching the contests. These groups are drawn with a certain amount of perspective, and the figures in each are shown to be seated side by side in a line at a right angle to the race-course, probably just as they had appeared to the artist on a real occasion. In some such way no doubt the gods of the Parthenon frieze could be regarded as disposed in two groups, each at a right-angle to the advancing procession, but in any arrangement of this kind the group of mortals who now intervene between the deities would be left entirely out of effect, and yet they evidently constitute the very head of the ceremony. In one respect, however, these paintings are useful for our purpose—they present an example of a row of figures seated side by side and full to the front.

So far, examples have been brought forward to show that the gods of the east frieze may properly be considered to be seated in the background and in the form of a continuous semi-circle.¹ It remains now to indicate

arrangement in this tomb seems to have been present to the mind of the editor of the *Museum Marbles*, viii. p. 24, where he says, "We are inclined to believe that they (the deities) are supposed to be arranged in two lines on either side of the temple, probably in the interior, in order that the head of the procession, or at least those persons whose peculiar occupation required their approach to the splendid statue of the goddess, should pass between them."

¹ Petersen, who in my judgment has excelled all other writers on the Parthenon, appears to have conceived the gods to be seated invisibly on one of the steps of the Parthenon. In the *Kunst des*

Pheidias, p. 302, his words are, "Vor sich also haben die Götter den Zug draussen vor, hinter sich die Uebergabe drinnen in dem Tempel, befinden sich also zwischen drinnen und draussen, wo anders wohl als auf einer der Tempelstufen." He had previously (pp. 240, 243) contended for the unity of both groups into one body. I do not know to what L. von Sybel refers at p. 266 of an article from a magazine of which he has sent me a separate copy, where he says, "Nun hat schon Eugen Petersen gelegentlich den Gedanken geäussert, um Athena, welche der rechten Götterreihe präsidirt wie Zeus der linken, erst ihren vollen Ehrenplatz zu geben, müsse man sie unmittelbar

more directly the application of this theory to the frieze itself, and some of the devices which the sculptor has employed to enable the spectator to see at once what he means. Not only are the deities conspicuous in size, since though seated their heads reach as high as the mortals standing close by; but it will be seen also that while the lines formed by the mortals on each side and in the middle group are all vertical, those of the deities are largely horizontal. Again, when the eye following the line of mortals from right to left reaches the last of them, it finds him standing with his back turned full to the god and goddess who apparently are close beside him, and thus an abruptness is produced in the composition which cannot be without its signification. To find this signification the eye must pass over the first group of gods, as if they were not, till it reaches the figure of the youth among the mortals standing in the centre. It takes these mortals one by one, then passes over the second group of gods till it again arrives at the first of the group of men on the left, and so it proceeds to the extremity. In the same way it next regards the middle group of mortals as if they were not, and thus is able to recognize in the two groups of gods one continuous body. It is extremely probable that in this process the spectator was largely assisted by differences of colour in the frieze, such for example as a prevailing blue where the mortals appear, and a red for the gods. When the gods are thus united into one body, Athena, who now seems to be separated from Zeus by a group of mortals, assumes her proper place at his left hand as Hera maintains hers on his right.

We have been thus far concerned with the general plan of the frieze of the Parthenon, and the result, it may be hoped, has been to establish what is indicated

an die Seite des Zeus denken, Zeus
Hera mit Athena zu der bekannten
Trias vereinigen indem man die zwei

Götterreihen zu einem geschlos-
senen Halbkreis zusammenfasse."

on Pl. I, that the original conception of the artist was a compact procession, advancing towards a place of sacrifice; that to sculpture this procession round four sides of a temple and still retain unity of effect, he adopted the conventionalism of giving in the main two views of it, one for each side, taken at the same moment;¹ that the sacrifice was viewed from a distance by an assembly of gods, and that to bring them within the narrow limits of the frieze, and still to retain unity of effect, he separated them into two groups, and, so to speak, forced them in among the procession in a manner the meaning of which must have been fully obvious to the ancients, though it is less so to us.

Whether or not this procession is intended for that which accompanied the celebration of the Panathenaic games at Athens, is a question on which it is not profitable to enter. We have followed the general and we believe the just opinion, that it is no other than the Panathenaic procession,² and that the seated figures

¹ In the article in the *Revue Archéologique*, xxxviii, p. 139, I had advocated the notion that the artist of the frieze had imagined the procession to be cut in two longitudinally, but I find now that the theory of his having rendered both sides is more natural, and gives infinite play for variety of action in the individuals, while preserving the several groups more or less closely alike.

On enquiry as to what may have suggested this to him, we find it to have been a frequent habit of early art—so far as concerns bas-relief and painting—to represent for example both sides of a lion or a sphinx in such a way that the result seems to be two lions or two sphinxes confronted, but with only one head between them. See head of horse in Plate II. I have

illustrated and discussed this subject in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, ii. p. 318, pl. 15, where in applying the result to the frieze of the Parthenon (p. 323) it is said: "It is as if the sculptor had looked at the procession from the front, and then spread its two sides into opposite horizontal bands, exactly as did the early designers of animals."

I find the same idea in a footnote to Petersen's *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 242, where he says: "Gleichwie ein Symbol dieser Composition ist die zweileibige Sphinx im Giebel bei Schöll, Mittheilungen VI." But I need hardly add that my investigations proceeded from a different source.

² Boetticher, who is now the chief if not the sole militant opponent of the Panathenaic theory, has

are deities. We turn now to the west frieze where preparations are going on for the start.

In poetry, and sometimes in prose, an author is roughly judged according to the frequency with which he is quoted. For an artist it would be the same to have his designs copied or imitated, and even with our fragmentary remains of Greek art, the west frieze of the Parthenon would stand this method of judging fairly well. For example, how often do we not meet in ancient art the youthful figure (No. 12) stooping to fasten on his left boot, but performing this action mechanically while he watches earnestly his neighbours who are before him in the start?¹ The same motive is even repeated a little farther on in No. 29, but with an infinite variety in the finer details, which shows at once that we have a different being before us. Possibly a sculptor straining for effect would have avoided so close a resemblance, but a genial artist has a strong fellowship with average humanity, and would not grudge a repetition to gratify its simple powers of appreciation, even when no other end is to be gained. It could not, however, be said that he had here no other end in view, if by such a repetition he might help out the impression of uniformity in the types of the youths selected for this cavalcade—selected, doubtless, in a spirit of solemnity

accumulated argument upon argument in his latest work on the subject, his *Zophorus am Parthenon* (1875). But while his objections and criticisms would often be just if he were dealing with a realistic panorama of the scene, it is obvious that when directed to an ideal work of sculpture, especially one which as we contend had grown up out of an older frieze of the Hekatompedos, they frequently can neither be refuted nor entertained. Least of all is his theory to be entertained which converts the seated figures on the east frieze into

magistrates and religious officials. On that view of them there would be no reason for their being assigned to the distant background. They would come within the category of the spectators on the painted Etruscan tomb at Tarquinii cited above.

¹ A youthful nude figure in this action occurs on a jacinth intaglio in the British Museum, inscribed ΦΕΙΔΙΑΣ ΕΠΙΘΕΙ, the letters being of the Roman period. This gem is unfortunately broken severely. The same attitude occurs on the Meidias vase in the figure name Klytios.

which sees in the uniformity of outward appearance a symbol of oneness of mind, just as an irregular or motley crowd is associated with diverse amusements and gaiety. While this oneness of mind and outward resemblance admirably suited the long undeviating lines of the frieze, and while even the trained action of the horses combined towards this effect, the artist has at the same time admitted a very characteristic element of turbulence on these occasions in the tendency of the horses to crowd close together.

The attitude of stooping with one foot raised to the level of the other knee, though employed sometimes to express a degree of repose, as in statues of Poseidon, is yet an attitude which lends itself with most advantage to youth when the elasticity of the whole body is at its best, as in these two figures of the Parthenon frieze, and in the later statues known under the names of Alexander the Great, Jason, and such like. In these cases, but especially in the frieze, it illustrates the activity of the last moment of preparation. Some may feel that the rock to raise the foot on falls in very conveniently to allow the artist to carry out his idea, and it might be argued from the peculiar aptness of this circumstance that he had probably adopted a motive already familiar in art and not inappropriate on the present occasion. On the other hand, it is quite possible that there were in reality, such rocks at the place of preparation, for assistance in mounting the horses and for other purposes, though from the smallness of the horses and the agility of the riders, there seems to be little need of assistance in mounting. No. 25 is an instance of what was perhaps the ordinary process of mounting. He is engaged in compelling the horse to extend himself for that purpose.¹ It will be seen that though incidents of

¹ This same subject occurs on a painted vase published (in the *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.* 1874, p. 247, pl. 1) by Robert, who describes this action as that which was meant by the term, *ὑποβιβάζεσθαι*.

preparation occur at various points of this frieze, it is towards the end of it that they become so accumulated as to mark distinctly the very last stage of the ceremony, while again it is in the middle part—slabs vii.—xi.—that the forward movement of the horsemen is most clearly emphasized. The horsemen are, as has been said, young men of a uniform type, except in two cases—8 and 15—both of whom are of middle age, bearded, and wearing the same costume. Their position seems to be that of guides or instructors accompanying the procession, and probably riding alone at its side while the others rode in ranks of two or more deep. In this frieze they move in pairs for the most part. Compared with these mounted guides or instructors, there is present also another class of assistants—1, 5, 6, 23, 24, 28—whose duties may be supposed to have been confined to the place of preparation. Whether this was the fact or not, there were at least no horses for these six figures. There is even a horse short for one of the youths (12) who, from his action and dress, is clearly meant to be a rider in the procession. His horse may not yet have been brought from the stables. The riders already mounted are almost all represented in profile, while those of them who are still on foot appear in attitudes calculated to express the perfection of bodily form, such as standing nearly nude to the front, or stooping, or otherwise actively employed. The guides, on the contrary, have no such energetic functions, and accordingly, No. 5 is largely hid behind a horse; while again, as to No. 1, it may be said that he could not well have been placed as he is except at the very end of the composition, where the plain and simple lines of his himation and his general attitude compete mainly with the straight line of the angle of the frieze. No. 23 is a marked exception, standing, as he does, in front of the horse, but it will be seen that he is an exception also in his free bearing and the variety of his costume; so that on the whole, this slab is one of the most beautiful

compositions in the frieze. Fault has been found with the rendering of the horse's mane on this slab, because, on the near side it does not fall down as would be expected. But the horse's head is bent, not only downwards but also outwards, in the direction of the spectator, and from this point of view the mane could not well be rendered otherwise. Throughout the north frieze, the guides, where they wear the plain himation of ordinary life, are placed behind the horses, so as to be partly concealed from view, probably because a figure so draped could not compare for beauty with a horse. There was no objection to placing a nude figure in front of a horse, because the finely modelled body of a youth would excel the most delicate form of any horse. Among the various costumes, that of No. 11 is resplendent with decorated cuirass and helmet.

Looking behind the necessities of artistic composition we see that this west frieze represents a number of characteristic groups such as would be observed scattered over the open space of preparation, and looking at it as a composition we admire the extraordinary skill with which a predominant movement in one direction absolutely required by the form and dimensions of the frieze is combined with an almost infinite variety of action and attitude which indicates the incompleteness of the preparations, and the scattered position of the groups in the reality.

Turning the corner of the Parthenon from the west to the north frieze we find the continuity of the subject indicated by incompleteness of preparation on the first slab. The nearest figure (133) has not yet got his chiton put in order, and is being helped to that end by a boy who pulls it down from under the girdle behind, while he himself does the same in front.¹ The boy

¹ Some such scene may be imagined in the Bacchæ of Euripides where Dionysos tells Pentheus that his dress does not fall rightly

(v. 935):

ξῶναι τέ σοι χαλῶσι κούχ' ἐξῆς πέπλων
στολίδες ὑπὸ σφυρῶσι τείνουσιν σέθεν.

would at this point drop out of the procession, and join his companions left behind on the west frieze. No. 131 is more advanced, having already a hold of his bridle rein: but the action of his left hand is not easily explained unless it be raised to steady a diadem in its place, such as that worn by No. 121. From this point onward along the north frieze the horsemen are in full tide of movement but without great speed, the action of the horses being due to the excitement of thronging together, and the effect of music and commotion. At places they are densely crowded, but nowhere more than on slab XLI. (Pl. II.), nor is there anywhere on this frieze that the sculptor has achieved a more admirable triumph over the difficulty of preserving perfect clearness and individuality in every form and line of a most intricate group. The whole cavalcade indeed is a standing memorial of what artistic power can accomplish in this direction. Nor can we imagine a more fascinating task for a sculptor than to render with every beauty of detail this long line of riders pervaded with a solemn oneness of aspect and demeanour worthy of the occasion, and yet brightened up as if with sunshine by the ever-varying natural impulses of the horses. It is truly to be compared to a fine stream with an infinite play of light on its surface, which makes you almost insensible of its steady onward flow. It is an idealization both from the reality of a procession, and from the reality of the best works of sculpture previously produced in Greece. Fortunately a great part of it has been well preserved to show from horseman to horse with what artistic affection the sculptor had worked out this tide of youthful manhood and pure animal life. No wonder the riders are all of one type, and the horses all of one age and breed, since only the most perfect of each would have been chosen for such an occasion.

Midway along the frieze the foremost of the horsemen (No. 72) appears to overtake the last of the line of chariots which had preceded them in the start. The

order of starting had been according to speed, the swiftest, that is the mounted horse, being last, and the slowest, that is the stately stepping maidens, first. It is true that the horses of the last chariot (slab XXIII.) look fresh, and are being held in by the man at their head as if they had just been yoked, while, on the other hand, some of the chariots are in the act of being halted.¹ The figures attending them must be regarded as officials appointed to be at the starting-place to get the horses put in motion, and at the halting-place to receive and hold the horses, so that the drivers and armed apobataë might be free to look on at the ceremony. The foremost horses plunge against their guide,² and startle a little the group of old men immediately in front. The himation worn by the guide, never a garment suited for commotion, has lost its hold. He is evidently as anxious about his dress as about the horses, devoting one hand to it and the other to them. The guide on slab XVII. applies himself rather more to the horses, though the circumstances are identical. In the main, one figure is a repetition of the other; but in detail there is every variety to show that they are different individuals at different points of the procession, and subject to many natural differences under apparently the same circumstances. The chariot guides wear the himation, except No. 66, who has a chlamys. They were therefore not servants, but persons of some standing selected for special duty, one for each chariot, with two others for emergencies (Nos. 44 and 58). This part of the frieze has been much injured, and it is not without doubts that the number of chariots is

¹ Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 282, regards the line of chariots as only just set in motion, the last being as yet not started.

² Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 277, speaks of this figure (44) as if he were rather connected with

the group of old men in front, but the youthfulness of his form and his close resemblance to No. 58, are to me convincing evidence of his being on special duty in regard to the chariots.

thought to have been originally nine. They are alike in form, each having four horses, and conveying a charioteer and a youth armed like a Homeric warrior, and trained like him to leap up and down from the chariot when driven at speed. The charioteers wear female costume, as was usual in their profession, in common with citharists, on public occasions, and for this reason it has sometimes been supposed that they are in reality female figures or personifications of some kind.¹ The warriors, or apobataë, differ a little in their costume, and how much can be made of a slight change in this respect may be seen on comparing Nos. 57 and 65, the former of which wants the cuirass worn by the latter. The cuirass suits well for the strain on the body in stepping up into the chariot, just as the easy, supple motion of stepping down from a chariot at speed calls into play most of the youthful properties of the body which a cuirass would conceal to a great extent. The warrior (No. 57) thus stepping down is a figure of such beauty as goes beyond description. The shield is thrown back in the natural action of stepping down, and, while in this way allowing all the beauty of the form to be clearly seen, it at the same time forms a frame in which the conspicuous part of the figure is encircled and detached from the lines of the surrounding figures. So unobtrusively is this accomplished, and so natural is the action, that the very decided emphasis thus given to the figure escapes notice, and all thought of the artist's skill is apt to disappear in instinctive admiration of his ever lovely creation. The skirt of the chiton floats back in obedience to the for-

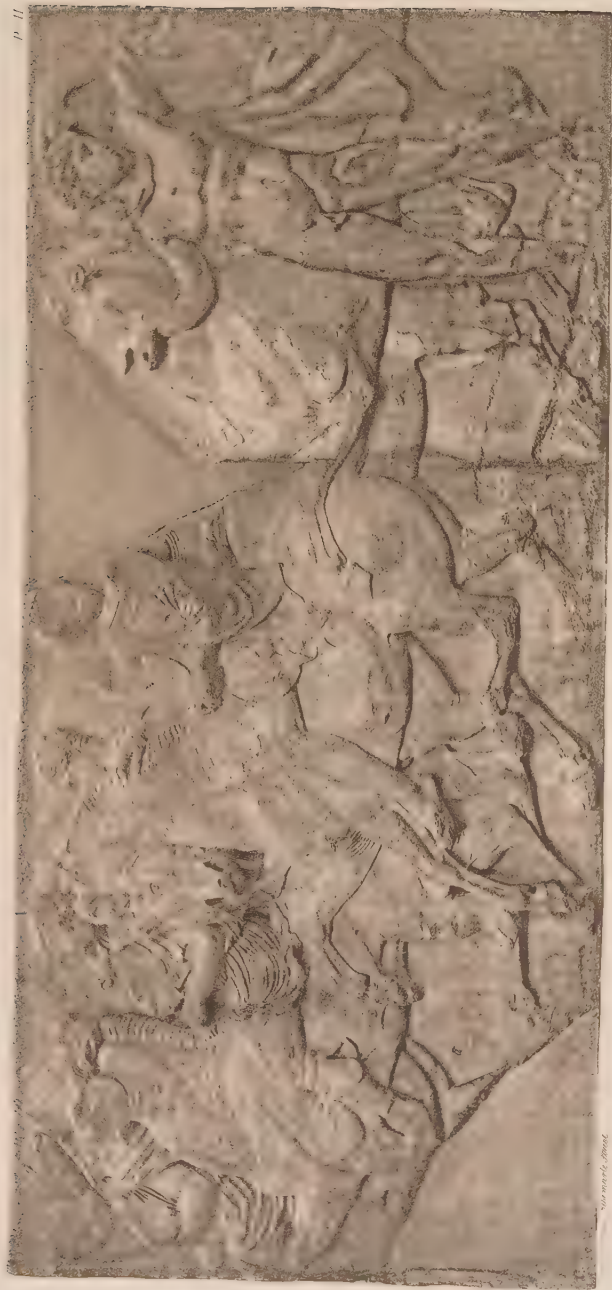
¹ To figures of this class belongs, I think, the *παῖς παρθένος* which Pausanias (vi. 4, 6) describes as stepping into a chariot at Olympia. He appears to me to suggest that this figure was a personification of the town of Philippi which he there

calls *νεωτάτη τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεων*. Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 278, regards these charioteers on the frieze as male figures, and speaks with unnecessary hostility of the contrary opinions of Visconti, O. Müller, Overbeck, and others.

ward movement of the chariot, and has not yet had time to participate in the action of stepping backwards and down. It thus keeps up the continuity of motion along the frieze. This slab exists still in Athens, and good fortune has preserved the surface of the marble in a state of purity which heightens the artistic beauty and, so to speak, freshens it at every new sight.

The group of elders (Nos. 29—43) keep close together, partly, perhaps, from the menacing action of the horses behind them, and partly also, no doubt, from their position in the procession as mere representatives of one order or another. In any case they are well up in years and gregarious. Individually they have no function. They must be rendered collectively. In contrast with this crowding is the open order of the musicians, first the flute players and next the citharists, stepping to a slow and stately tune. Before them are youths carrying water-vessels (*hydriæ*), the last of them stooping to raise his load eagerly; and here it should be observed how skilfully the artist has perceived that this action of stooping low down is beautiful only in the front aspect, and has hid the rest of the form behind the next figure following, thus at the same time intensifying the beautiful eagerness of youth. It should be noticed also that the other water-bearers, though uniform in dress and bearing, are yet diversified by many subtle differences of detail which make them separate individuals however much alike they may look.

In front of the water-bearers are youths carrying more substantial fare in the form of fruits apparently, and before them again are boys guiding sheep, which, true to their docile nature, need no restraint beyond a slight touch of the hand. As regards the forms of the sheep, the sculptor has wisely concealed all but the head and fore-quarters, since only in these parts is there beauty such as he required. The cows, on the other hand, are difficult to lead, and in some cases are represented as being vigorously held in with ropes, though



See next page

Plat of frieze of Parthenon:—British Museum

the ropes themselves, like the reins and harness of the horses are not indicated on the marble. Probably they were rendered in colour which has vanished with time. A finely-bred cow, though deficient in comparison with a good horse in the beautifully modulated surface it presents to a sculptor working in relief, is yet extremely well furnished in this respect, and it is therefore not altogether without surprise that we find the artist both in the north and south friezes, interposing a human figure between us and each of the cows, with the obvious intention of breaking the monotony of their form. It must be said, however, that in the various cases he has introduced the human figure in different positions, so that on the whole, it is easy to extract a complete cow, and from this it may perhaps be safely inferred that it was more the size of the animal than its deficiency of form which guided him. Indeed, the beauty which he has imparted to the cows in the better preserved slabs of the south frieze is of so high a character that he may well be acquitted of having failed to appreciate fully those animal forms in the rendering of which Myron had achieved great fame. With the cows the north frieze closes. A draped figure at the head of the foremost of them carries off the sharp line of the angle, and blends it with the forms of the nearest cow. So it is also at the corresponding corner of the south frieze. In the general composition and treatment both friezes, as has already been said, agree, and, considering how much the south side has suffered, we may leave its details to students of individual beauties of form.

The composition of the East frieze and the principles which appear to have guided the artist have already been explained. We may now take into account other considerations. And first it is to be observed that the group of men standing at each extremity of the line of seated deities, show by their attitudes that they are waiting leisurely the approach of the victims for the

sacrifice. For them no essential part of the ceremony has yet commenced. It is the same with the deities. So to speak, they are sitting idly talking and waiting, unconcerned about what is going on immediately before them. Clearly, then, those five figures who seem to be standing between the two groups of deities, but in reality are to be regarded as in front of them, are not engaged in anything final or important, otherwise their action would be the subject of attention. Their action is in fact explicit enough. On the left, two maidens have arrived, carrying on their heads cushioned stools, which a lady of more commanding presence prepares to receive from them. These seats probably are meant for her, and for the no less conspicuous figure of a priest who stands beside her. He also is occupied, as would naturally be supposed, in the same way as the priestess, that is in receiving an object which has been brought to him by a boy.¹ The object in question is a large piece of cloth, carefully folded several times into a convenient size for handling, much as if it had come fresh from the maker's, and it will be seen from the manner in which

¹ Friederichs, Bausteine, p. 173, says very justly: Mir scheint es am Wahrscheinlichsten dass die beiden Stühle keinen anderen Zweck haben als diesen der Frau neben den Mädchen und dem Mann neben dem Knaben Sitze zu verschaffen und dass die correspondirende Scene der angeblichen *Peplos* überreichung auch etwas Analoges bedeuten muss. It is clearly a case in which to an extent both giving and receiving are expressed, and in this respect I would compare it first, with the action of the priestess in receiving the stool from the maiden beside her, and secondly, with those vases on which Gaia is represented holding up the infant Erichthonios to Athena (Mon. Ceram. i. pl. 85, and Mon. dell' Inst. Arch. i. pl. 10). There we have an answer to the argument

of Flasch (Zum Parthenon Fries, p. 87), when he declares that the action on the part of the priest can only be that of handing the cloth over to the boy. If I may introduce here a comparison from Raphael, I would instance the picture in the National Gallery, known as the "Garvagh Raphael," in which we see St. John presenting a wild flower to the infant Christ. Here it will be seen that though the infant Christ has already taken hold of the flower near its heaviest part, the hand of St. John still holds it also, but only very slightly, as if just resigning it finally. From this we may perhaps lay it down as a law, that the person giving away a thing must have the slighter hold of it, as is the case in the frieze.

the boy presses instinctively a corner of it between his left elbow and his side, that he is in the act of parting with it to the priest, who has already begun to unfold it. So consistent is this action of the priest and the boy with that of the priestess and her two maidens immediately beside them, so natural is it in itself, and so completely does this isolated scene in the centre of the frieze thus preserve its unity, that it is scarcely necessary to observe that a different interpretation has been placed upon it. Yet we are asked to suppose that the priest has taken off his upper garment (himation), has folded it with minute care, and is now handing it over to a boy to hold for him during the approaching sacrifice.¹ Such an idea is not only trivial, but it would destroy the unity of the scene, and is inconsistent at least with the action of the boy, as has just been pointed out.

So far it is obvious that the gods are waiting, that the group of men at each extremity are waiting, and that the group of five mortals in the centre are preparing for some fast approaching ceremony. Their preparations attract no attention. Indeed the priestess is engaged in the very ordinary occupation of receiving seats for herself and the priest, and until it can be shown that this act of hers possesses something beyond this common

¹ This view of the matter is urged with unbounded assurance by Flasch in his memoir (*Zum Parthenon Fries*) p. 87 fol. At p. 99 he says: *der Priester der zu diesem Zwecke seines Obergewandes sich entledigt hat und es zusammengelegt dem Knaben zur Aufbewahrung übergibt.* Flasch regards it as impossible that the boy could be doing anything but receiving the piece of cloth, and he is right no doubt in observing, as Brunn appears to have done before, that the priest to be fully robed requires another garment, the himation. If the priest is giving

away the piece of cloth, it would be necessary for consistency that the priestess should be also giving away, not receiving the seats. Yet no one could venture to assert this of figures standing so completely in the attitude of just arriving. Mr. Watkiss Lloyd considers that the priest is handing the peplos to the boy (see his *Age of Pericles*, ii., p. 175). But in the act of giving away, the priest would not be represented examining the robe as if taking a lingering look at it bit by bit. Yet it is such a look that he is really taking.

signification¹ it would be unjustifiable to ascribe to the action of the priest any other meaning than that of simply receiving from the boy a robe to put on before he seats himself beside the priestess, were it not that he is undoubtedly scanning it very carefully, as if examining even its texture. Because of the conspicuousness of this action of the priest it has been sought to attach special consequence to the piece of cloth, with the help of a tradition which says that at the greater Panathenaic festivals a new embroidered robe for the goddess Athena was conveyed spread out like a sail, and fastened to a mast. It is argued that the piece of cloth held up by the boy is this new robe, carefully folded, after it had been removed from the mast, and that the priest is unfolding it preparatory to its inspection and admiration by the spectators.² There would thus be a double scene proceeding on the east frieze, that is to say, preparation for inspecting the new robe, and preparation for the great sacrifice. To meet the divided interest which, on that view, would attach to the composition as a whole, and to obviate the very reasonable charge of thus breaking up its unity, it has been proposed to assume that the central group of five figures are inside the temple itself, and that the ceremony in which they are engaged is in

¹ So long as it was supposed that the maidens were Arrephori bearing mystic baskets—and this was once a common opinion—it was of course necessary to find some very important if not a mystic signification in the action of the Priest also. On this theory of the Arrephori, see Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 264. Compare also Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 306, where he says: "however much it may be wished, it is impossible to regard the seats carried by the two maidens as secret and mystic objects." In the story which Thucydides (vi. 56), tells of the sister of Harmodios

it is clear from what follows that the procession in which she was disallowed to carry a basket (*κανοῦν*) was the Panathenaic procession.

² Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 303, says, the ship on wheels which bore the peplos was left at the foot of the acropolis, whence the peplos would be carried up to the temple by a boy of spotless lineage, and having both his parents alive at the time. He argues also from the size of the cloth as compared with the boy, that it would, when unfolded, be a fair enough size for the archaic image of Athena Polias for which it was intended.

this way entirely separated from the other and greater ceremony of sacrifice.¹ All this would be reasonable enough as an ordinary circumstance, but not even the fact of those figures being placed in the frieze immediately above the east doorway to the Parthenon is of any effect in reconciling this theory to the conditions of unity imposed on the composition of the East frieze, and observed without question except in this particular instance. The costume of the priest and priestess is not more suited for indoor than for outdoor wear. We conceive these functionaries as having been stationed at the goal of the procession to receive certain objects, just as the guides were stationed to receive and check the advancing chariots. They need not be supposed to have come along with the procession.²

If then the priest is critically inspecting the robe while unfolding it, we may conclude that it is a new one, as indeed the careful way in which it is folded would of itself imply, or else an official robe which was only brought out from its place in the temple for a special occasion. On the latter view it would be a robe for the priest himself, who, it has been seen, is represented without his himation. On the former view it could scarcely fail to be the new peplos for the statue of Athena Polias, which was carried in the procession at the greater Pan-

¹ It has been very generally assumed that the five central figures were inside the temple (see Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 301), but there have been different notions as to what temple was meant, some thinking it the Parthenon, others the temple of Athena Polias, while Michaelis (*Der Parthenon*, p. 221) prefers an ideal sanctuary to correspond with the unreal presence of the gods themselves. Again, p. 255, Michaelis says the five central figures were obviously in the interior of the sacred place. The frieze of the Parthenon must have been in-

telligible the first day it was finished, and therefore it must represent a scene that had taken place before the Parthenon was built at all. It could, perhaps, be conceived to represent scenes that had been familiar round the old Hekatompedos.

² Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 307, points to the costume of the priest and priestess as evidence that they had not come with the procession (which is true enough), and that they had been stationed inside the temple (which by no means follows).

athenæa. If it is the peplos, as I cannot help thinking it must be, then the ceremony with regard to it must be past, and may have ended with the taking of it down from the mast. It is being received without attention, except on the part of the priest, who scans it narrowly. No doubt he would scan equally a special robe brought for himself to wear at the sacrifice, and it cannot be denied that if that is what he is doing, his action would be perfectly consistent with that of the priestess beside him. After examining the robe, and folding it round his body, he would then take his place on the seat which is being brought him. The theory¹ which explains him as giving away his robe to be ready for the sacrifice commits the mistake of assuming him to sit down after disrobing himself to be ready for an impending act.

The maidens carrying seats on their heads in the centre group are to be supposed to have walked at the head of the procession.² Their apparent separation from the other maidens is caused by the necessity of representing the invisible gods as really present on the marble, and it may be inferred also from the fact of the foremost of the other maidens closing up in pairs that the artist meant to indicate by this an ultimate grouping close together of the whole of the maidens in one body. Those on the right, it will be seen, are already passing in among or past the group of men, and it may be that some of the demureness of their bearing is due to their coming thus directly under the eyes of the strangers. The first two groups (49-50 and 52-53) carry nothing in their hands. Much alike as these groups are, it may be

¹ Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, 3rd edit. i. p. 331, accepts the disrobing theory, and sees nothing incongruous in the priest afterwards retiring to his seat till the victims arrive. But though giving up the peplos, he properly still recognises

the whole ceremony as characteristic of the procession and sacrifice at the Panathenaic games.

² Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 240, suggests that these two maidens had passed by the gods from the procession.

noticed as an instance of painstaking in small affairs that in the first pair both the hands of the more advanced figure (49) are visible, while in the other (50) only the left comes into view, but in the second pair this arrangement is reversed. Minute observations of this kind enable the artist to give individuality and naturalness to what otherwise would be mere formal types, as indeed they too often appear to us now, who are accustomed to strongly marked features when we look for individuality and naturalness. On the extreme left of the frieze the maidens are followed by a draped male figure, who, as has been pointed out at other angles, seems to act as an artistic means of transition round the sharp corner. In the missing part on the extreme right there must have been a similar figure.

In this procession there seems something to have been found for every one to do, from the management of fiery horses by the hardy youths of the state, to the carrying of light empty vessels for the sacrifice by graceful maidens, except perhaps the old men (29-43) who appear rather as representatives of one kind or another. The group of men at each extremity of the line of deities are evidently waiting to take their part when the victims arrive. Only the gods are, so to speak, unemployed. There is a solemnity throughout the east frieze. Probably it is due to this solemnity, and to the consequent want of contrast between inactivity in one place and energy in another, that the gods here are not readily recognised as such, while for example in the east frieze of the Theseion, where they sit serenely amid the turmoil of a battle, they are at once seen to be divinities. Though unseen, their presence has hushed the gathering crowd on the Parthenon, and thus the scene would be a lesson, if any such were needed, to the participants of the actual ceremony in future ages. In keeping with this solemnity of bearing among the mortals is the modesty of attire which prevails. In the other friezes there is no objection to

nude or nearly nude figures when occasion requires. Here certainly there is no occasion. But it will be seen that the same spirit extends to the gods also, with the single exception of Eros on the extreme right, who could not under any circumstances be draped. Yet it must seem strange to find Apollo and Dionysos, for instance, robed like ordinary Athenians at an assembly, not as Apollo might be when among the Muses he is dressed like them, or as Dionysos might be in his elderly character. Neither of these cases apply. Both these gods are figured in their common type, except that both are draped, as we have said, like Athenians at an assembly. No doubt it is an assembly. At the same time the gods, though they conform in matters of costume, do not separate themselves according to sex with the scrupulousness which the mortals observe. This grouping of gods and goddesses together would be in strict accordance with tradition, but none the less is the contrast between the freedom of intercourse in these groups, and the reserve which prevails elsewhere, a circumstance which must have had a force with the ancient Athenians, which it has not with us in distinguishing these beings as deities.

We have already explained that the gods are to be regarded as seated in a semi-circle looking out to the front, and having immediately before them the five figures, now in the centre of the frieze. On this view Athena, No. 36, comes close to Zeus, No. 30. He is conspicuous not only in person, but also from the decorations which his chair alone possesses, and from the sceptre in his right hand.¹ His attitude is one of great ease, with the left arm bent and thrown back over the top rail of the chair, which the artist has made con-

¹ The arm of the chair is connected in the front with the seat by the figure of a sphinx. The sceptre may have been continued in colour at the back of his head ;

at his hand is drilled a small hole, as if there had been attached there a knob or handle perhaps, in metal. His chair is the only one having a back.

veniently low; so much so, that as a thing of itself, this chair could not be admired; the usual Greek chair, on the other hand, is extremely well-proportioned and graceful. Equally recognisable is the goddess Hera seated on his right, and drawing back as she turns towards him the veil which till now has hung close to each cheek, and enveloped the whole of the head. The position of her hands indicates a sudden action: with the left she has pulled instantly away one side of the veil; with the right she holds firmly the other side. Close at her side, as in some dutiful and intimate relationship, stands a slight female figure, perhaps her messenger



Fig. 2.—From the Meidias Vase in the British Museum.

Iris,¹ to judge from the wing still visible behind her left shoulder, notwithstanding the fracture in the marble. Whether Iris or not, this slight figure is evidently in her place to give an appearance of softening with her gentleness the group of Hera and her divine husband.

Athena² on the right, No. 36, is less distinguishable without her helmet and shield. It is, however, not unusual for her to appear without these weapons. Her right hand has held a spear, probably of metal, for the attachment of which holes are drilled into the marble.

¹ This figure has been called also, Nike, for whom no doubt the wings would suit. But Nike was a goddess who was found with Zeus rather than Hera. Sometimes she has been called Hebe, but the wings are against that. Petersen, who with Michaelis is in favour of Nike, argues (*Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 250) that Iris has not wings in the East pediment of the Parthenon, but the figure which is there often called Iris is by no means

proved to be her. It is true that the action of the hands of this small figure on the frieze is not unlike that of holding a *tænia*. But against that we have to consider the very intimate relationship which her position towards Hera implies on the frieze, and this relationship suits better for Iris than for Nike.

² Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 260, agreeing with Michaelis and others.

It, with the ægis, would sufficiently indicate her personality in an assembly of the gods, where the individuality of each need not be expressed with the same forcibleness as when they appear separately as rulers of their own domain. Next her sits Hephæstos,¹ No. 37, who had helped her into the world, and whose interests in mankind often ran parallel with hers. Next again follow Poseidon,² Apollo,³ Peitho,⁴ Aphrodite,⁵ and Eros, the last mentioned leaning back idly on the goddess, and looking with curiosity at the approaching crowd, at the same time holding up her parasol. The original of the greater part of this slab is in Athens, and has been most fortunately very well preserved. The beautiful clearness of the marble itself seems to add just the last touch in completing the charm which the sculptor has created in these figures.

Returning to the left of Hera we find in No. 27 a figure which has been identified very frequently as Ares,⁶ though the youthfulness of the form and the ease of the attitude, with both hands clasped round his knee, do not in themselves speak for that god, as we know him otherwise in art and literature. It seems to me not improbable that this figure may represent the youthful Pan,⁷ as he appears on the Hippolytos vase in the British

¹ Petersen, *ibid.*, p. 263, agreeing with Michaelis and others.

² Petersen, *ibid.*, p. 265, agreeing with Visconti, Michaelis, and others.

³ Petersen, *ibid.*, p. 266, agreeing with Michaelis and others.

⁴ Petersen, *ibid.*, p. 269, agreeing with Michaelis.

⁵ There is practically no dispute as to these two figures. The parasol must be for Aphrodite, though Eros appears to hold it rather for himself; it is one of her attributes. Besides, with wings he would not require it.

⁶ Michaelis calls him Triptole-

mos, and explains his position near to Demeter (26), from his association with her in Attic religion; he objects to Ares so near her.

⁷ A youthful Pan in complete human form, and seated on a rock, occurs on a vase in Brit. Mus. Cat., No. 1681. The story of his assistance at Marathon is told by Herodotus, vi. 105, who adds that the Athenians built for Pan a temple, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκρόπολει, and held an annual sacrifice to him. On a small bronze relief in the British Museum is a figure of Pan entirely human, seated on a rock, on which is spread a goat's skin. His left

Museum, beside the other deities of Athens, Apollo, Athena, Aphrodite, Eros, and Poseidon. He was a deity specially connected with the acropolis, and at the time of the building of the Parthenon stood in high favour with the Athenians, from his supposed assistance at the battle of Marathon. The object twining round his left ankle would then be his pedum or crook. No. 26 is generally accepted as Demeter holding a torch in her left hand. But the torch would equally suit Artemis, and with a predisposition to identify her with this figure, it has been sought¹ to prove that the god seated before her must be Apollo, and that these two deities as twins, sister and brother, would be free to sit together less ceremoniously than any other god and goddess. It is hard to understand how this could be the case. But if we are right in assuming that the gods were here looked on as in reality turned round to the front, then these two figures, 26-25, resolve themselves clearly, and may remain as they have very often been held to be, Demeter and Dionysos; not that there is any special reason why they should not as well be Apollo and Artemis. About the last figure, No. 24, it is agreed that the petasos and chlamys lying on his knees mark him as Hermes.

As regards the frieze altogether, it may now be pointed out that the draperies are with few exceptions sculptured on a simple and general plan, calculated, perhaps, partly for distant effect, but more probably for the sake of assisting the continuity of the movement and the unity of the whole scene. The shadows among the folds are obtained by grooves, which are not followed home, so to speak, as they would require to be to produce a scheme

hand rests on the rock behind him; his right rests on his raised knee and holds a pedum. Before him is a cippus, on which lies his syrinx. The assistance of the god Pan at Salamis, also, is referred to by Æschylos in the *Persæ*, v. 450.

¹ Flasch, *Zum Parthenon Fries*, p. 44. He has already argued that the god seated next to Poseidon must be Dionysos, not Apollo as we have given, following Michaelis.

of drapery beautiful by itself in each figure. Nor would this be possible in the very low relief of the frieze, as has been accomplished in the higher relief of the balustrade of the Nike temple at the entrance to the acropolis. At the same time what the balustrade gains in the beauty of individual figures it loses in general effect. Nowhere is the sketchiness of the drapery on the Parthenon frieze more noticeable than in the gods seated to the left of Hera. It may be that colour was freely employed. Again, the rendering of anatomical form varies considerably. In some of the guides there is very little, while many of the youthful figures excel in it. The large massive forms of the gods, on the other hand, are mostly simple and broad in their indications of anatomical structure. The right hand of Poseidon is an exception where minute details are observed.

It is to be remembered that the frieze was visible only from the colonnade and the steps of the temple. Under these circumstances a very low relief had an obvious advantage over a treatment in high relief, where the figures would constantly appear out of drawing.¹ Besides, the frieze in this case was solely a decorated part of the cella wall,² and not a special member in the

¹ Mr. Ruskin, *Aratra Pentelici*, p. 163, says: "The true law of bas-relief is to begin with a depth of incision proportioned justly to the distance of the observer and the character of the subject, and out of that rationally determined depth, neither increased for ostentation of effect, nor diminished for ostentation of skill, to do the utmost that will be visible to an observer, supposing him to give an average human amount of attention, but not to peer into or critically scrutinize the work." Previously, p. 161, he quotes the remark of a French writer, to the effect that the Greeks did not usually weaken, by

carving, the constructive masses of their building; but put their chief sculpture in the empty spaces between the triglyphs or beneath the roof. Mr. Ruskin adds: "This is true: but in so doing they merely build their panel instead of carving it."

² As merely a part of the cella wall, it presented exactly what Mr. Ruskin requires, *Aratra Pentelici*, p. 162. "The flatness of surface," he says, "is essential to the problem of bas-relief. The lateral limit of the panel may or may not be required, but the vertical limit of surface must be expressed."

structure. It was a pure enrichment of the building: not a necessary part of it. To have sculptured it in conspicuous high relief would have been to force it on the attention without there being a substantial reason for its existence. As it is, it needs no reason for its existence. We may notice, also, that high relief lends itself better to excited action, as in the metopes, than to the mainly placid movement of a procession. For there is something in the roundness of figures so sculptured, that suggests, perhaps unconsciously, swift motion, just as the rotundity of a ball suggests it also, though in a higher degree. It may then be concluded that the lowness of the relief had been practically determined before the services of the sculptor were called in. Similarly, in regard to the subject of the frieze, he would probably have no choice. But in the rendering of it he was alone, and there the subtle powers of his genius seem never to have failed him. We read sometimes of how a Greek sculptor in bas-relief must have begun with the flat surface of his marble block, and worked his way down into it as his judgment and abilities guided him. But when we turn from these opinions to almost any slab in the north frieze, we are baffled to see how it could have been a gradual work of judgment and ability. It has more the character of an instantaneous creation.

We proceed now to the metopes, and observe, first, that they were placed on the outside of the temple, where they could be seen from any distance. Very high relief was therefore necessary to give them effect wherever the spectator might reasonably take his stand. In parts the figures are quite detached from the background. Each metope is, so to speak, framed and emphasized by the structure. That again would naturally drive the artist to high relief. This isolation demanded for each metope a subject complete and intelligible either in itself, or as part of a series of groups forming one continued subject. A single figure might no doubt satisfy the requirements of this principle. But it is worthy of

notice that the sculptor of the Parthenon preferred groups of two figures, and in his choice recognised generally the universal fact that no group of two figures appeals more directly to common intelligence, than one in which they are engaged in deadly combat. To carry off women with violence was another powerful motive.

When we remember that the great temple of Zeus at Olympia had only 12 metopes, that the Theseion at Athens had only 18—all at the east end—and that three of the temples at Selinus had metopes only at one end, we become impressed with the difficulty that must have presented itself to the sculptor of the Parthenon when he was called upon to provide no less a number than 92. It was a demand upon his fertility of invention, such as could hardly be equalled, and only the desire to render the Parthenon perfect could have imposed it. Even to find suitable subjects must have been a severe task, and possibly had they all been preserved, it would have been no easy matter for us now to make out their meaning in every case. Some have been reduced to fragments, others have disappeared altogether, and many remain on the temple so disfigured as to be often unrecognisable.¹

¹ A reference to Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, pl. 5, will show how completely the metopes of the east and west fronts have been defaced. The destruction of those on the north side has been nearly entire (Michaelis, pl. 4). Those of the south side have been more fortunate. We have the 16 carried to this country by Lord Elgin. One, the first of the series, remains on the Parthenon; another is in Paris, while the remainder of the total 32 are so far preserved in the drawings made by Carrey in 1674. It is true that these drawings give no notion of the style. They only indicate the composition of the several groups, and show among other things that the central groups are peacefully occupied, and not yet assailed by

their rude guests. Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 227, has doubts as to these groups having reference to the combats of Lapiths and Centaurs, but he has no other explanation to offer.

As regards the subject represented along the north side, Petersen, p. 229, thinks that the remains point to an illustration of the battle of Lapiths and Centaurs again, so that on both sides of the temple the subject should be in general the same, just as it is with the frieze of the two long sides. Michaelis, *Parthenon*, p. 138, also recognises Centaurs, but appears to think that there was no one continuous subject on the north side. The metopes on the east front seem to have represented groups from the Giganto-

In general, the sixteen removed by Lord Elgin from the south side of the building, and now in the British Museum, may be regarded as the only satisfactory representatives of the quality of art, both in conception and execution bestowed on the metopes. In these two points they afford scope for unwearied admiration. The individual groups, it will be seen, belong all to one subject—the quarrel and fight which ensued between the Lapiths and Centaurs at the marriage feast of Peirithöos. It was a fight for life, not as in the deeds of Herakles, for example, where we know beforehand that he will be victorious—that man will destroy the ferocious creature opposed to him. Here the scene is more finely conceived. As becomes a marriage company, the Lapiths are youthful, beardless, slim, but firmly knit. The Centaurs, like rustic, half-civilized neighbours, are bearded and mature in years. Wine has inflamed the brutality of their nature, and some of them have already seized on the maidens present at the ceremony, to carry them off to the wilderness. From Carrey's drawings it is clear that there had been about the middle of the temple several groups to indicate the peaceful part of the scene round which the combat rages. In two of the Elgin groups, the subject is localized by the presence of wine vessels. In the one, No. 4¹ (Fig. 5), a Centaur raises a vase above his head to hurl it down on a fallen Lapith. Full of wine, the stroke would be deadly, but we may suppose it to be empty. In the other, No. 9, the Lapith has fallen on an overturned vase.

machia (Petersen, pp. 202—218, and Michaelis, p. 143), while those on the west front were devoted to combats between Greeks and Amazons (Michaelis, p. 148, and Petersen, p. 232).

¹ The numbers here employed are those given by Michaelis in his pl. 3-4. They correspond with the numbers employed in the British Museum as follows:

Mus. 1 = Mich. 2; Mus. 2 = Mich. 3; Mus. 3 = Mich. 4; Mus. 4 = Mich. 5; Mus. 5 = Mich. 6; Mus. 6 = Mich. 7; Mus. 7 = Mich. 8; Mus. 8 = Mich. 9; Mus. 11 = Mich. 26; Mus. 12 = Mich. 27; Mus. 13 = Mich. 28; Mus. 14 = Mich. 29; Mus. 15 = Mich. 30; Mus. 16 = Mich. 31; Mus. 17 = Mich. 32.

A sculptor who has shown on the frieze his familiarity with the management of highly-bred horses would naturally employ this knowledge in the metopes also, where encounters take place between Centaurs and Lapiths. And this in fact is a very noticeable feature in several of these groups, as compared for instance with the older treatment of the same subject on the celebrated François vase,¹ where the chief equine characteristic of the Centaurs appears to be that of speed. In the metope No. 7 (Pl. III.), we have the same scene as on the west frieze, No. 27, a horse or a Centaur rearing wildly against a youth who strains himself vigorously in the

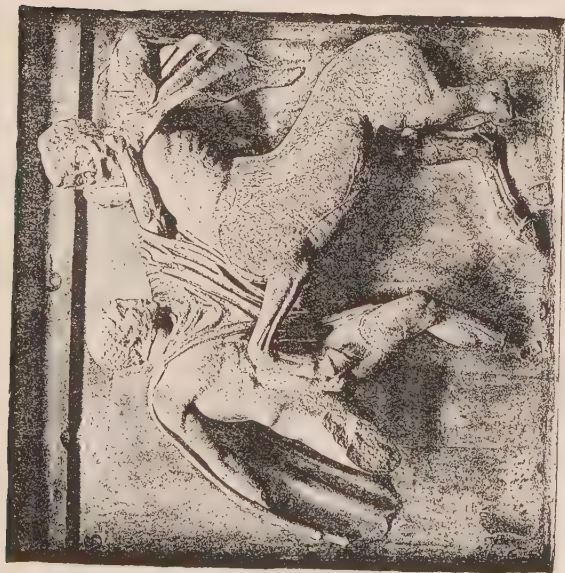


Fig. 3.—Metopes of Parthenon.

one case to tame, in the other to deal a fatal blow. Again, in the metope No. 3 (Fig. 3), the Lapith has thrown the Centaur nearly on his haunches, and now plants one knee firmly on his crupper, and drags his head backward. So also in metope No. 2 (Fig. 3) the Lapith has forced down the Centaur, and plants his knee in the hollow of his back. In these and other instances which may readily be recognised among the metopes in the British Museum it will be seen that the varying action of the groups has been

¹ Engraved in the Mon. d. Inst. Arch. iv. pll. 56–57. There the names both of Centaurs and Lapiths are inscribed beside them. The Lapiths are armed with helmet, cuirass, sword and spear.

A very elaborate article on the Centaurs as they are represented on Greek vases, will be found in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, i. p. 107. It is by Professor Colvin.



7.



27.

METOPES FROM SOUTH SIDE OF PARTHENON.

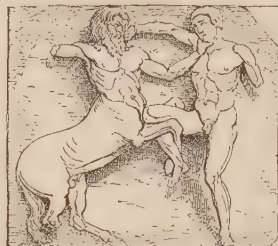
conceived in a spirit which saw clearly in the familiar movements of a high-bred horse under management a means of reconciling the otherwise strange subject to ordinary spectators, if not also to bring it into a degree of harmony with the frieze. Consistently with this spirit the equine body of the Centaurs is never exhibited suffering the last extremity, nor in any way agonised, as in the Phigaleian frieze, though the sculptor has not hesitated to represent one of the Lapiths lying dead beneath his antagonist No. 28 (Fig. 3), while several others appear to be within little of the same end. Yet in the legend the Lapiths were victorious. We miss now, it is true, the glittering spears and swords, which would have shown that they must be so with whatever loss. But we can see still from the attitudes of the Lapiths that it was at the human part of the Centaurs that they levelled their weapons. It has suited the artist's purpose that the equine part should be unsullied in the fight, and should constitute in these groups an ever-recurring element of simple, natural, and so far dignified action. How different from the Phigaleian frieze!

In the metope No. 31 (Fig. 4) it will be noticed that the Lapith meeting his opponent full in front, has planted one knee on the equine chest of the Centaur and has seized him by the beard. Immediately thereupon the Centaur has with his forelegs clasped the leg of the Lapith and deprived it of its force. At the same moment he has caught the throat of the Lapith, and again rendered powerless his attack with his right hand. We have thus a double action represented, and in this respect, no matter how instantaneous the scene may have been, it must be regarded as an artistic mistake, since sculpture should limit itself to one action at a time. It can perfectly well convey the impression of a continued action, as may perhaps be the case in the metope No. 29 (Fig. 5), where a Centaur carries off in his arms a maiden. But even then it is

only one of a series of identical moments which is seized. From their absolute identity, any one of these moments may become a type of the rest, and may obviously imply them. As regards this metope, however, it seems to



30.



31.

Fig. 4.—Metopes of Parthenon.

me that the instant represented is that in which the Centaur snatches up the maiden in his arms preparatory to running off with her. The movement of her skirt is caused by the sudden clutching of her heels against the Centaur, and not by rapid motion forwards. Besides, the position of his body is precisely that which would come into play when lifting up suddenly a heavy body. What appears at first sight to be another instance of a double action occurs in metope No. 1, where the Lapith forces one knee up against the equine chest of the Centaur. But here the action of his knee is simultaneous with the extension of his right arm to aim a blow, and both movements are simultaneous with the action of the Centaur.

It may be observed generally in regard to the metopes which exhibit combats of Lapiths and Centaurs, that there is a marked disposition on the part of the sculptor to prolong as far as possible the instant of action available for his subject.¹ For example, if we take the very

¹ I see that Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 224, has made a similar observation as evidence of the individuality of the artist: *Jene Eigentümlichkeit unseren Metopen-*

bilder besteht in einer sehr genauen Berechnung und Abgewogenheit aller Bewegungen in jeder Gruppe. Sie greifen so in einander und halten sich so in der Schwebe dass es in

beautiful metope No. 27 (Pl. III.), it will be evident that the Lapith could not, with perfect instantaneousness, extend both his arms, as he does, so that one hand should clutch the neck of the Centaur and the



4.



29.

Fig. 5.—Metopes of Parthenon.

other be completely ready to drive home a spear into him. It is true that we may regard the action of the left hand as already completed, and therefore out of the question; so that the real instant seized by the artist was that in which the right arm was suddenly extended to make a thrust with the spear. Yet even then the one action would have followed on the other so instantaneously that there would be an artistic danger in representing so close together the one completed, the

vielen Gruppen nicht wohl möglich ist einen Fuss oder eine Hand anders zu richten ohne dem Ganzen seinen Halt zu rauben. Je mehr die Ringen, denn in jeder Gruppe wiederholt sich ja der Kampf auch bei den Frauen, äusserlich verflochten sind, desto deutlicher aber auch desto selbst verständlicher ist jene innere Spannung, man kann sagen Gebundenheit; aber auch da wo der äusseren Berührungspunkte zwischen den zwei Figuren weniger sind, ist sie vorhanden, und so oft auch das Ausholen zu Schlag, Stoss und Wurf vorkommt, ist es doch verbunden mit wirklichem Ringen.

Again, on p. 226, referring to the metope, No. 26, he says: Auch hier ist augenblickliche Gebunden-

heit, denn jetzt kann der Kentaur nicht werfen, aber der Lapith eben-sowenig sein Schwert gebrauchen ohne den Gegner loszulassen. Wird er den Stoss so rasch und sicher führen können dass dem Kentaur nicht Zeit bleibt oder wird er durch die Schwierigkeit seiner Stellung—und wie geringen Halt nur hat sein linken Fuss—sie aufzugeben genöthigt werden? Hier muss im nächsten Augenblick Entscheidung nach einer oder der anderer Seite folgen.

It is evident from these passages that the impression on Petersen's mind was much the same as mine, though we have followed different methods in expressing it.

other in operation. In the present case, I would rather understand the sculptor to have given us a prolongation of the first action, which should have represented the Lapith seizing the Centaur with one hand, and at the same instant beginning to extend his right arm, but in reality represents the right arm as already fully extended. So far as can be judged from the position of his chlamys, which in repose would be fastened with a clasp under the throat, it may be argued that the sudden throwing back of the right arm has wrenched the clasp, carrying with it the end to which it was attached, and that therefore the action of both arms was not simultaneous. For the sake of contrast let us now compare the metope No. 7 (Pl. III.), where as already pointed out the action is identical with that of a group in the west frieze. The Lapith with his left hand seizes the rearing Centaur at the throat, while his right is extended to deliver a blow. The whole movement is simple and momentary. It is no wonder that in point of composition this metope is regarded as one of the very finest.¹ As a rule, however, the tendency is, as we have said, to protract the moment of action or to exhibit side by side a completed and an incomplete action. For another example we may take the metope No. 28 (Fig. 3), in which the Centaur has slain the Lapith and gallops away over his body. If we could suppose that he is merely galloping over a prostrate enemy who has otherwise come by his end, the action would be simple and direct in its effect on the spectator. But from the constant grouping of single pairs of combatants in these metopes, it is clear that the Centaur in this case has just slain his opponent, and hastes away to find another. Or again, the position of the Lapith in Nos. 2, 3 (Fig. 3), or 30 (Fig. 4), is obviously not such as could be assumed in a moment. In each case there is a degree

¹ The head of this Lapith is in the Louvre, where it has lately been recognized by Dr. Waldstein.

of prolongation of the action. In No. 2 the fact which is most forcibly expressed, is that the Lapith has brought down the Centaur, planted one knee on his back and seized him round the throat—all this may be conceived as transpiring in one instant. But the sculptor makes this action, so to speak, wait, and chooses as the real instant of the metope an immediately subsequent action, the raising of the Lapith's right arm to strike. If now we refer to the figure No. 12 on the west frieze, which we have for convenience called a "youth fastening his sandal," we see that it is in fact a youth interrupted while fastening his sandal by some object which withdraws his attention. Here the artist, with a subtle insight into the capabilities of his art, has rendered his figure in the attitude of being arrested during an immediately previous act. But this manifestly is a different effect from that of the metope in question, where the continuance of the previous act is necessary to the execution of the final or principal act.

In athletic contests in which boxing and wrestling were combined, it must have been a constant observation that the victor first overpowers his rival, and then instantly deals him a paralyzing blow. Such a scene only becomes intelligible when as in these metopes the act of overpowering an opponent has been completed, and is made to wait for a moment while the new act of striking begins. It is then an illustration of close combat, where the two opponents are locked together, and as such it must convey by every means possible the endurance of the struggle beyond the usual instant of time which art is allowed.¹ The representation of

¹ We may compare the Panathenaic amphora in the British Museum, signed with the potter's name, Kittos (Mon. dell' Inst. Arch. x. pl. 48g, fig. 12), on which is a group of two athletes. The one has got his opponent's head locked firmly within his left arm, and now

extends his right hand to deal him a blow. In point of date, this amphora cannot well be later than another in the British Museum (Mon. dell' Inst. Arch. x. pl. 48c, fig. 1), dated B.C. 367, on which the two athletes are exhibited in a preliminary stage of wrestling.

prolonged or double actions in the metopes is, however, not only justified by the nature of the subjects, but serves at the same time an artistic purpose in detaining longer than usual the first glance of the spectator, by which means the isolation and completeness in itself necessary to the effect of each metope is in a measure increased. In a composition of many figures or groups, a contrary effect is required, and to this end the varying action of the figures is properly instantaneous. The frieze of the Mausoleum may serve as an excellent example. It is an example of what is conveniently called 'dramatic action,' while keeping at the same time explicitly within the boundary which separates sculpture from pictorial effect, or what, at least, seems to be allowable under this denomination. Rapidity in the action represented naturally leads to rapidity of artistic execution, and to a corresponding neglect of much which would ennoble the person acting as distinguished from the action which he performs. When, therefore, in a scene of combat or contest, a Greek sculptor is found to hesitate between his knowledge of the necessity of instantaneous action, and a desire to render his figures in a position the most advantageous possible for the ennobling of every element in their form, he is entitled to be regarded as one who loves his art for itself more than for its speedy effect on the spectator, and this seems to be the case of the sculptor of the metopes in question.

Thus in the attitudes of the Lapiths, and in the respect paid to the equine bodies of the Centaurs, there is exhibited a manifest desire to elevate the subject, and render it worthy of the building. It remains to be seen whether this same spirit is betrayed in the choice of physical types both for the Lapiths and the Centaurs. At the first glance it is clear that the Lapiths are of a bodily type different from that of the youths on the frieze. They are spare and hard of form; the bone structure prominently marked, with often only a thin

covering of skin and muscle; they have none of the fleshiness of the figures on the frieze. In the proportions also they differ materially, showing a decided shortness of body and greater length of leg as compared with the frieze.¹ Anatomical markings are sharply and clearly defined when in the frieze they are sketchy. The forms altogether stand out with a decisiveness and cleanness of outline which could not from the nature of the frieze appear on it. To a great extent, no doubt, the isolated position of the metopes and the high relief in which they are sculptured led to these differences, while again the necessity of representing a peculiar race of men may have done the rest; not that we suppose the artist in this case to have been obliged to invent for himself the characteristics of a peculiar race. The subject had been long familiar in art, and all that he would have to do in this respect would be to adapt what he chose from the existing characteristics of the Lapiths, and stamp it with his approval and his genius. It will be noticed, for example, that the Lapiths, though partly

¹ For example, here are measurements from two Lapiths compared with two figures on the west frieze: (1) Metope No. 31 (Mus. series, 16) from collar bone to pubes, 0·365 metres, from pubes to top of knee cap, left leg, 0·285 metres, from knee cap to centre of ankle bone, outside, 0·318 metres. (2) In metope 26 (Mus. series 11) the measurements are respectively: 0·350; 0·282; and 0·310. On the frieze, fig. 4, the same measurements are 0·310; 0·235; 0·246; and on fig. 9, we have 0·290; 0·235; 0·222. Thus in the first of these metopes we have as the relation between the length of body and length of leg 365 : 603 metres, while in the first of the frieze figures we have 310 : 481.

No doubt the strained action of the Lapiths is favourable to a

result of this kind, when it is compared with the easy attitude of the figures selected from the west frieze. Yet the impression of greater length of leg as well as spareness of body in the Lapiths is so decided that I have thought it worth while to give these measurements, even though they may not be in themselves conclusive.

Flaxman, in his evidence before the select Committee of the House of Commons on the Elgin Marbles (Report, 1816, p. 75 fol.), observed in the metopes "a particular classification of the parts of the body," such as he gathers from the writings of Hippocrates to have been regarded by those who then studied the economy of the body as the signs of the finest nature in the highest state of exercise.

armed, and mostly provided with a chlamys, are yet deficient in the characteristics of higher civilization. This deficiency is recognisable not only in the spareness and hardness of form already referred to, but very decidedly in the type of face and the neglect with which the sculptor has rendered the hair, the aspect being such as would result from poverty of life, though doubtless a poverty which was common to the highest of their race in the primitive age to which legend assigned them. So also the expression of pain on some of the faces is not such as the sculptor would have given to beings of a higher scale. We must, therefore, allow that the nature of the subject had imposed on him certain conditions adverse to the notions of perfect physical beauty in his time, and we can imagine, that under these circumstances he was not unwilling to follow in some degree the rendering of the same subject in earlier works of art. His Lapiths are of the same bodily type as those on the west frieze of the Theseion, the sculptures of which present also many analogies to the metopes of the Parthenon in the composition of groups.¹ Until, however, the date of the Theseion is more precisely determined, nothing more than conjecture can be advanced as to the relationship of its sculptures to the Parthenon. This much only is obvious, that on both buildings the Lapiths are of the same type. But with this, and with the similarity of composition in several of the groups, the comparison ends. It could not be otherwise when artistic effects so essentially different as those of metopes and frieze are sought to be compared.

It has been usual for some time to recognize in these metopes of the Parthenon the hand of a sculptor who had been trained in an older school than that of Pheidias, and had preserved its love of spare human

¹ See Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 225, and my *Greek Sculpture before Pheidias*, p. 244.

forms, its extraordinary knowledge of the structure of such forms, and its decisiveness in representing them—qualities, in short, much akin to those which the Ægina marbles so forcibly illustrate. Undoubtedly these qualities are present in the metopes to a degree which renders them an artistic contrast to the frieze and to the sculptures of the pediments. But no less clearly is there combined with these qualities the same perfect freedom in the treatment of drapery which we find on the pediment figures. To that there is no analogy in the sculptures of Ægina. Nor is the difficulty less if we assume the hardness of form in the metopes to be due to the hand that executed them, and to be independent of the master designer. For on that theory we should expect the drapery to be equally hard, if not indeed formal, according to the manner of the older schools. It might indeed be assumed that several sculptors, trained in the same school, but with different force of genius, had been employed. There is, for example, among the metopes of the south side a peculiar contrast between those (Fig. 4) where the forms of the Lapith and of the Centaur are set against each other with an entirely unrelieved hardness of outline, and those others (Figs. 5, 6), in which the contact of Lapith and Centaur is softly toned down by beautiful drapery. In both cases a clear and definite artistic effect has been aimed at, and though an artist need not be limited to one set of effects, it is difficult to believe that the metopes in which the drapery is introduced in this manner are not the work of a sculptor trained in a later and more poetic school than he who conceived and executed the other series. But we have seen that their sharply defined position, their proximity and yet complete isolation, must have conspired with the nature of the subject and the traditional treatment it had received to produce in the metopes much at least of the hardness which they display. Beyond this we cannot well go with certainty.

So far we may seem to have failed in justifying the anticipation that the sculptor had sought to ennoble the forms of his Lapiths. But when every allowance has been made for the restraint under which he worked, it will be found that he has conceived them as a noble type of their own race, and has preserved the type throughout with a constancy which alone shows that he had an ideal fixed in his mind. He has crowded into his details of form innumerable beauties which the commonest observation will reveal. At every point round the temple there were metopes always in sight. Everywhere they challenged the verdict of the spectator. At both ends they were brought into close comparison with the sculptures of the pediments. On both sides they stood alone to justify the sculpture of the Parthenon as worthy of its architectural splendour.



8.

Fig. 6.—Metope of Parthenon

CHAPTER XVII.

PEDIMENT SCULPTURES OF THE PARTHENON.

East pediment—The birth of Athena as represented on archaic painted vases—Moment at which the scene was represented—Detailed examination of the remaining statues—Largeness of style—The so-called Theseus—West pediment—Dispute of Athena and Poseidon—Drawing of pediment by Carrey—Deities present at the dispute—Examination of the figures that have survived—The so-called Ilissos—Group of Kekrops and one of his daughters.

THE sculptures of the east or principal front of the Parthenon represent, so far as we have already seen, first, on the frieze, an assembly of deities among whom Athena holds a prominent place; secondly, in the metopes, a series of combats between gods and giants, Athena again being conspicuous among the gods. And now we approach the pediment where, if anywhere on a temple dedicated to her, she would be expected to be a figure of commanding importance. At the same time it may be true here as it is in the frieze and metopes that, however important it may have been for her to be conspicuous in the designs on her own temple, such a result could not rightly be attained at the expense of the dignity of the other deities. Their various relationships towards each other, in point of dignity and power, had already been firmly established in art as in literature, and could not be destroyed for the sake of rendering any one of them specially prominent. That is an end which could only be reached by detaching the favoured deity from the main group, and placing him or her amid special surroundings.

No doubt this is to some extent the case in the West pediment; but there, it will be seen, she is at least balanced by one figure of equal dignity and importance, Poseidon. On the other hand, the base of the statue of Zeus at Olympia, as described by Pausanias, furnishes a complete illustration of what is now contended for. Here, however, in the East pediment of the Parthenon it is evident that Athena was not detached from the ordinary assemblage of deities. For although all that has been recorded in ancient literature concerning these sculptures is the simple statement that the subject represented was the birth of Athena,¹ yet it is well known from other sources,² that that event was believed to have taken place in the presence of several, if not all, the gods of Olympus. On the Parthenon she was doubtless to the minds of the Athenians the centre of attraction; but in actual form she must have been secondary at least to Zeus.

The scene as it exists on many ancient vases carries this to an extreme. To the vase painter the moment of interest was when Athena could be pictured rising from the head of Zeus, necessarily very diminutive in form, though fully armed. Sometimes the scene was presented with a certain grotesque humour, as on a vase³ in the British Museum, where we see two female figures

¹ Pausanias, i. 24, 5.

² Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 34, leaves it to be supposed that the birth of Athena took place as the Homeric Hymn to Athena places it, in Olympus.

As regards the various deities who were supposed to have been present, it will be seen from the list of vases with this subject collected in Schneider's *Geburt der Athena*, p. 9, that the names vary. For example, on a beautiful archaic amphora in the British Museum (*Mon. dell' Inst. Arch.* iii. pl. 44) we have Zeus, Athena, Apollo, Hera, Poseidon, Hephæstos, Ei-

leithia, Herakles and Ares. On another archaic amphora we have Zeus, two figures of Eileithia, Leto, Aphrodite, Ares, Dionysos, Poseidon, Amphitrite, Hermes and Hephæstos (*Mon. dell' Inst. Arch.* vi. pl. 56, fig. 3). Again, on an amphora in the British Museum more or less of the time of Pheidias, we have Zeus, Athena, Hephæstos, Poseidon, Nike, Apollo (?), Dionysos, Artemis, Eileithia, and two male figures (*Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, i. pl. 4. *Elite des Mon. Céram.* i. pl. 64-65).

³ *Elite des Mon. Céram.* i. pl. 63.

holding up their large distended breasts to be ready to nurse the divine infant. In other instances Hephæstos having cleaved open the head of Zeus, rushes away in terror at what he has brought about. By far the greatest number of these vases belong to an age earlier than that of Pheidias, and may be held to represent the usual manner of rendering the birth of Athena in early art.¹ There are, however, one or two exceptions. In one case the vase² is of a severe but refined style. The group in which the interest of the scene centres consists of Zeus, Hera, and Athena. Hera sits between them and makes a motion of astonishment: Zeus stands before her holding his thunderbolt in one hand and resting the other on his sceptre: behind her stands Athena holding out over the head of Hera her helmet, as if offering it to Zeus: behind Zeus, Nike advances rapidly to greet Athena; while on the other side stand Poseidon and Hermes talking of the wonder which has just been seen, and Dionysos in conversation with a female figure. To say that the central group of the east pediment resembled the composition on this vase would be perhaps going too far. But it is obvious that the relative importance, dignity, and functions of the various deities on the vase are maintained in the same way as they are seen to be maintained on the east frieze and metopes and in the higher regions of Greek art generally. So that if we are driven to choose between the two different manners of representing the birth of Athena on ancient vases, we need not hesitate in selecting this last mentioned manner, if for no other reason than that the other rendering of the subject, though more true to the myth, gives too special an attraction to the diminutive figure of the goddess issuing from her father's head.

For a large composition of sculptures arranged in

¹ See p. 16, and p. 20 of the memoir of Schneider already cited on the Birth of Athena. ² Mus. Etrus. Vatic. ii. pl. 21, fig. 1.

the triangular form of a pediment, there must be in the centre a strong and effective bond of attraction to knit all the figures into one harmonious scene. The sight of Athena issuing from the head of Zeus would be sufficient for the purpose. So also the moment immediately before the birth when all was expectancy may be thought to have presented an adequate source of attraction for the whole assembly.¹ But in the myth it seems to have been rather the noise she made that had startled, and held spell-bound those who were present. So terrible was it that sky and earth trembled, while the sea rose in great waves.² If then we follow the myth we may expect to find the figures on the Parthenon, such as they now are, startled by the great noise, and turning towards the centre of the composition to see the cause. It may be said, no doubt, that the deities present could only have been there by invitation to behold something marvellous that was to happen, and that therefore they must have been in the required attitude of strained attention at the moment when Hephæstos approached with his axe. But the best argument against that view is to be found in the agitation of the figures themselves. There could have been no such agitation till the shout of Athena, and the clang of her armour arose. Even then there would be no wild excitement. It may be taken also that the commotion would diminish towards each extremity of the scene, and since the great central group is lost, it is only reasonable to interpret whatever action we see expressed in the remaining figures as action diminished owing to remoteness from the centre.

Of these figures the one (G, see Pl. IV.) nearest the centre on the left side is usually called Iris, and she is

¹ Brunn, p. 22 of his *Bildwerke der Parthenon*, in the *Berichte der bayer. Akad. d. Wissen.* 1874.

² Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 37 says: ἀγορεύσαιο' ἀλάλαξεν ὑπερμάκει βοᾷ'

οὐρανὸς δ' ἔφριξέ νιν καὶ Γαῖα μήτηρ : similarly the Homeric Hymn to Athena, which adds, ἐκινήθη δ' ἄρα πόντος κύμασι πορφυρέοις κυκώμενος.



PERSEPHONE, DEMETER, IRIS(?). FROM EAST PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON.

supposed to be hastening away with the news of Athena's birth. That in itself would be a sufficiently curious explanation. To see Iris start on her journey with news of an event which is obvious to all, implies an end to her mission, which is artistically anticipated by the central group. The sculptures themselves render her mission nugatory if it was to mankind she was sent. If her object was to communicate the news to the figures more remote in the pediment, it is at least strange that she should arrive with such obvious signs of haste. But there is, in fact, no evidence whatever that this figure is Iris. It has been said that her characteristic herald's staff may have been lost along with her right hand. Equally characteristic, however, and absolutely necessary for identification were her wings. This figure



Fig. 7. —From the Meidias vase in the British Museum.

has not, and never has had wings. On the contrary, her action is altogether that of a person startled at what she has just witnessed, and hastening from the scene (compare Fig. 7). The marked slightness of her form which has been urged in favour of her being identified with Iris, indicates a being of subordinate rank. But the only person of really subordinate rank who is known from the vases to have been present, was Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth, and on the Beugnot vase, as it is called, in the British Museum, she is seen to be moving away in alarm, while Artemis, who is further from the centre, advances to welcome her new-

born sister. Applying this analogy to the two seated figures (E and F, see Pl. IV.) next on the left of the pediment, we can understand how it is that they, if they are goddesses, do not share in the fear and alarm of Eileithyia. It is usual to describe them as Demeter, and her daughter Persephone, and at present there is no reason to dispute these names. Both are seated on square seats, Persephone with her left arm round the shoulder of her mother, who, it will be seen, has turned round towards the central scene. That she has turned because of what is there going on, may be gathered from her position on the seat which remains nearly flush with that of Persephone, and in so remaining indicates that the original position of Demeter before the sound of Athena attracted her, had been full to the front like Persephone. Demeter extends her right arm upwards and towards the centre of the pediment, as if, like Artemis on the vase, to welcome Athena, while like her also ignoring the timid Eileithyia. For it is obvious that Demeter is entirely unconcerned with the figure before her, who, it may here be remarked, had probably stood nearer the front of the pediment than she is now placed, so as to interfere less with the artistic connection between the action of Demeter and the appearance of Athena in the centre.

Next to Persephone we find a male figure (D, see Pl. V.), commonly known as Theseus, reclining on rocky ground over which is spread first the skin of a lion or a panther and above it a himation of thick cloth. Dionysos alone is possessed of both these articles of dress if we except Herakles as he appears in archaic art.¹ On the

¹ On a finely drawn red figure kylix in the British Museum (Durand, Cat. No. 135) there is a Satyr seated on a rock, not at all unlike in attitude to this figure. In his right hand he holds out a drinking cup, in his left he holds a thyrsos. His left leg is more bent

under him than in the Parthenon figure.

Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 118, gives the arguments against identifying this figure with Theseus or Herakles, and concludes, p. 120, in favour of Dionysos, whom Michaelis also (p. 165) had



DIONYSOS. FROM EAST PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON

other hand, the figure has his hair short in front but plaited at the sides in a long plait which is tied closely round the back of the head as is the case with the Apollo on the Omphalos at Athens and the Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo in the British Museum. This manner of wearing the hair does not in our present knowledge appear to be suitable for Dionysos, still less for Herakles, while on the other hand the dress cannot be reconciled with that of Apollo. Since, however, Dionysos, Persephone and Demeter were intimately associated in Attic religion we may here give him the preference. It has been said that he reclines unconcernedly, or that if he is concerned at all it is with the sight of Helios, the sun god, rising from the waves at his feet.¹ In Carrey's drawing the figure is placed with his left arm close to Persephone and his feet touching the neck of the nearest horse of Helios.² The manner in which the rock he reclines on and the neck of the horse have been hewn away shows that the original position of the figure was at least very nearly the same as in the drawing. Being thus close to Persephone Dionysos ought, it may be supposed, to have shared the agitation which had reached her and Demeter. On the other hand it cannot be said to be

adopted with more or less of conjecture. Overbeck, in the 3rd edit. of his *Griechische Plastik*, ii. p. 302, strongly approves of this identification. Others, who will be found cited by Michaelis and Petersen, had come to the same conclusion. Since then, however, Brunn, in the *Berichte d. Bayer. Akad.* 1874, has claimed this figure as a personification of Olympos, consistently with the notion that the idea of a natural phenomenon, which was doubtless at the bottom of the myth of Athena's birth, was present forcibly to the mind of the sculptor of the Parthenon group.

¹ Michaelis, *Parthenon* p. 173, describes him as ganz in den

Anblick des Sonnenaufgangs versunken. Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 117, objects to this, saying, Mit sich allein ist er beschäftigt, behaglicher Ruhe ergeben; but on p. 121, he admits a relationship towards Helios, saying in a note, Man könnte ihn dem Helios zutrinkend denken, wie die Homerischen Götter thun, zumal da man die aufgehende Sonne verehrte. Auch Lloyd denkt an eine Spende dem Morgen dargebracht.

² Reproduced in Laborde's *Parthenon*, pl. 1, of the series of Carrey's drawings; see also Michaelis, *Parthenon*, pl. 6, fig. 5.

inconsistent with the general design of the pediment if we regard him as having been first attracted by the sudden reining in of the horses of Helios when they emerged from the sea—for so the Homeric Hymn puts it—and as recognising in that incident the influence of a great event which had just transpired in the middle of Olympos, towards which his next action would be to turn. Instead of a direct bond between him and the centre, there would be thus an indirect bond with it through Helios, who it may here be observed appears to have been one of the first to be aware of that event. He instructed the Rhodians to profit by it at once by offering sacrifices to the new-born goddess.

At the one extremity of the scene Helios and his horses are seen rising above the horizon; at the other, Selene, the goddess of the moon, is descending with her horses beneath it. The sun drives with four horses, the moon with two (see Pl. VI.).¹ She was the weaker

¹ The Magi explained an eclipse of the sun which occurred when Xerxes with his army was at Sardes, as a foreshadowing of the eclipse of Greece, saying that the sun was the protector of the Greeks as the moon was of the Persians (Herodotus, vii. 37). On the base of the Zeus at Olympia Helios appeared on the left extremity *stepping into his chariot*, while Selene on the right was seen driving a horse as it seemed to Pausanias, v. 11, 8. A relief on the base of a statue would naturally suggest a different form of composition from a pediment of a temple where the figures must diminish towards the extremities, while on a base they would more properly increase. Hence it is that we find Helios stepping into his chariot and Selene driving in hers, and do not necessarily infer from this that the hour indicated was later than at the birth of Athena. On

the circular cover of a pyxis with red figures in the British Museum, is the design of Aurora, or at all events a winged figure, rising in a chariot above the horizon, below which Selene is descending riding sideways on a mule. Above the head of Aurora is a star, the heads and necks only of her four horses are visible. This vase is from Athens, and no doubt it expresses the general notion of sunrise as rendered in art. Here also it may be noted that the movement of Helios and Selene is from left to right of the spectator. We find precisely the opposite of this on the celebrated Blacas krater in the British Museum (Elite des Mon. Céram. ii. pll. 111-112). According to Greek usage the East was the right, the West the left of the spectator, as on the Blacas vase just referred to. Hermann, Gr. Antiquitäten, ii. p. 238, quotes



HORSE OF SELENE (FROM EAST PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON).

power. Both are driving rapidly. For in Greece sunrise is a sudden change on the face of nature. Or perhaps Helios is reining in his steeds in alarm as was sometimes supposed. It has been argued that the position of Helios and Selene here indicate the moment of dawn at which the birth of Athena was believed to have taken place. No less probable is it, considering the popular belief in the influence of the stars on the birth of individuals, that the presence of the two greatest luminaries was regarded in this sense. But while that is doubtless true, they may at the same time be considered to have indicated the world-wide importance of her birth, especially so when it is remembered how Helios proceeded to show the advantages men might gain by it.

Next to Selene is a group of three female figures (κ, λ, μ, see Pl. VII.), familiarly known as the three Fates, a name which had its origin in the circumstance that these beings were frequently associated with Zeus and with childbirth, while again in recent times it would seem to have been confirmed by the occurrence in ancient sculpture of representations of the birth of Athena at which they are undeniably present.¹ On the other hand, if the Fates were present on the Parthenon they should have been in immediate proximity to Zeus,² and not in an

Plutarch, *Plac. Phil.* ii. 10, Πυθάγορας, Πλάτων, Ἀριστοτέλης δεξιὰ τοῦ κόσμου τὰ ἀνατολικά μέρη ἀφ' ὧν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, ἀριστερὰ δὲ τὰ δυτικά.

¹ An instance of the presence of the Fates while Prometheus is occupied in making a figure of a woman is to be seen in Visconti, *Mus. Pio Clementino* IV. pl. 34. But the chief example in point is the marble relief where they are present at the birth of Athena, which will be found engraved in Schneider's *Geburt der Athena*, pl. i. fig. 1. Zeus sits in profile to the right. Behind him Prometheus or

Hephaestus moves rapidly away. Before him Athena, full armed, moves away to the right while Victory flies down after her with a wreath; beyond her are the three Fates, the first of them seated, the other two standing. Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. ii. p. 307, adopts the notion that these three figures are in reality the three Fates.

² Figures of the Fates were placed on the throne of the statue of Zeus at Megara on which Pheidias according to report had taken part along with the local sculptor Theokosmos (*Pausanias*, i. 40, 3).

extremity of the pediment, where they would be left to be the last to be aware of the event at which they should have been the foremost. To the Fates the birth of Athena was known beforehand, and they at least could not be surprised when it happened. Yet these three figures share in the general astonishment, though only in a degree proportionate to their distance from the centre. The one nearest to the centre turns round energetically to see what has occurred. In her present position this is not so apparent as it becomes when we take into account the fact that the rocks on which she and the figure next to her sit have been hewn away roughly to let them fit close together, and to show that she was turned round into a position which corresponds with that of Demeter in the other angle, while again her left arm, raised with its drapery in surprise, has required part of the shoulder of the next figure to be hewn away to make room for it.¹ What the action of her right hand may have been is not clear; but it seems to have expressed astonishment. The second figure (L) is in the first stage of rising from the rock on which she sits very lightly. Her feet are drawn back and her breast is pressed forward against, as if beginning to push up, the head of the reclining figure (M). Both these movements are part of the initiatory action of rising. Her left arm lies over the shoulder of the reclining figure not necessarily, however, in repose as is often assumed. On the contrary, an extremely probable restoration would be to represent her left hand as in the sudden act of taking hold of the left hand of the reclining figure which we conceive to have been raised in the emergency of the moment.² The third figure (M) has as yet apprehended little of the central event—so little that she still lies with one leg crossed over the

¹ See also Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik*, 3rd edit. ii. p. 307; and *Berichte d. sächs. Ges. d. Wissen.* 1880, pll. 1-2, p. 46.

² At one time this appeared to be the opinion of Overbeck, and I regret that he has not expressed it in his *Griechische Plastik*.



Group from East Pediment of Parthenon.

other as if in complete idleness. The sudden pressure against her head is the only sensible sign she has received, so far as we can be sure.

Other names in abundance, besides those of the Fates, have been given to this group. The three daughters of Kekrops, for instance, Aglauros, Herse, and Pandrosos, were within the range of possibility; because, though only personifications of the fertilizing



Fig. 8.—Aphrodite, on the Meidias vase in the British Museum.

dews they had yet an established hold on the religious sentiments of the Athenians. But when from dew the next step was taken of making them personifications of clouds in the wake of the moon, it was felt that explanation had been carried too far in an unsubstantial region.¹ The idea may be poetical and beautiful, but it implies a complete break with the older traditions of

¹ Brunn, *Berichte d. Bayer. Akad.* 1874. At p. 16 he says: *Der poetische Reiz der Welcker's, Deutung auf die drei attischen Thauschwester so anziehend machte, bleibt jetzt unverloren, nur dass an die Stelle des Morgennebels und Thaus der sich breit über die Flächen lagert oder emporstrebt die verwandten nur substantielleren und massigeren Wolken treten.* It is perfectly just for him to point out that the sun and the moon appear in the pediment as distinct personages. But it must not be forgotten that as such they were not the creation of Pheidias. Had that been the case we could then perhaps readily have allowed that he might equally have represented clouds in a correspondingly personal form. Nor do passages of

poetic rapture from Aristophanes (*Clouds*, 275) or Euripides (*Ion*, 82) prepare us for representations of clouds in sculpture even when we bear in mind the original force of the myth of Athena's birth as a phenomenon of the heavens. It is this that has carried Brunn away, and has caused him to see also in the Demeter and Persephone a group of the two seasons (*Horæ*) and in the Dionysos a personification of Mt. Olympus.

M. Ronchaud, *Revue Arch.* xlv. (1882), p. 173, proposes "Chloris reclining on the knees of Thyia" as he finds a group in the Lesche at Delphi described by Pausanias, x. 29.5. But the group of Polygnotos may have been of quite another aspect.

Greek sculpture so far as we know them, and it has not yet been shown that inventiveness of this kind was ever a quality of a great artist. On the contrary, it has been made more and more clear by research in many directions that the greatest artists have been the most assiduous in appropriating the traditions of the past, in transforming them to their purpose, but not in the invention of novelties, however poetic they might be to specially trained minds.

Whether or not we accept for these figures the names of Hestia and Aphrodite lying in the lap of Peitho, as has been strongly urged,¹ with them we are at all events on firm ground. Attributes there are none, which would prove or refute the identification of these or the opposite figures in the pediment, and it is this want of attributes—by no means to be always accounted for by injury to the sculptures—which has led more than anything else to their being regarded as vague indefinite beings; just as on the east frieze the same general absence of accessories has led to similarly vague interpretations.

Next to the group just discussed we may expect a figure to balance the Eileithyia in the opposite angle. But in general there is little or no positive means of filling up the great central gap which now exists. We

¹ Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 131, in identifying them as Aphrodite and Peitho says that the objects which they had held in their hands would have left the matter without doubt had they been preserved. But on the Meidias for example where Aphrodite and Peitho occur (see Fig. 8), each with her name inscribed, there are no attributes. It is curious that the Peitho on the vase is represented in the attitude of the Eileithyia on the pediment, except that the direction of the movement is reversed. On the vase Aphrodite has the same simple drapery and large ripe forms as on the

pediment. Her surprise is indicated by only a very slight movement, while the subordinate Peitho rushes away in alarm. Peitho was present at the birth of Aphrodite on the base of Zeus at Olympia. The arguments for Hestia will be found in Petersen, p. 142, and it may here be added that on the gem already mentioned, there is a figure with an altar beside her who cannot be other than Hestia, in which case she was regarded at least by later artists as a deity who was present at assemblies of the gods in Olympos, since the gem is so inscribed.

have the figure of Nike (j), as to which there are doubts whether it may not have belonged to the west pediment.¹ Accepting it, however, for the east pediment, we see that its proportions, considering the relatively diminutive size of the goddess of Victory, would entitle it to a place close to the centre of the pediment and in immediate proximity to Athena, whom it was her duty to welcome, perhaps even to crown with a wreath. We have also part of the torso of a figure whose arms have been raised above his head as if wielding an axe. It has been assigned to Hephæstos or Prometheus.

It may be fruitless often to argue at length about the names or designations of the figures which have survived from the pediments of the Parthenon. But it is a task which is imposed by the present state of enquiry into the subject. To make conjectures regarding the missing figures would be still more unprofitable and it is a task which is not imposed on us.² We turn gladly from it to the consideration of questions which lead us more directly into the presence of the artist, so to speak. And first, we cannot avoid a question which arises from the fact that these statues had been most carefully finished before they were raised to their places in the pediments, and that when they were raised considerable alterations were necessary in the east pediment at least to get them into their places. These alterations have already been referred to. They occur only near the angles as if the central figures had been first disposed in their places leaving too little room for the last.

¹ Petersen, notwithstanding the objections of Matz, Brunn and others, continues to believe that the Nike belongs to the east pediment and was moving from right to left. See his criticism of Schneider's *Geburt der Athena* in the *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1881, p. 481, and compare Trendelenburg in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, p. 131.

² M. Ronchaud, in his article in

in the *Revue Arch.* xliv. (1882), p. 173, retains the opinion he had expressed in his *Phidias, sa Vie et ses Ouvrages*, p. 255, that on the left side of the pediment had been deities associated with Poseidon in his sovereignty over Attica previous to the birth of Athena, while on the right side had been divine personages associated with Athena and her sovereignty.

The same exigency occurred with the Phigaleian frieze as will be seen. How far the original design may have been affected it is impossible to say. But we may fairly conclude that the change had been made for the advantage of the principal group in the centre, whether or not the figures in the angles had also gained by it. An obvious consequence of this is that we lose the feeling of certainty as to the proper grouping of these last, except of course where two figures are sculptured in one block of marble. Even there we see that the beauty of the composition resides in its appropriateness to the simple and massive forms of the individual figures, and thus we are driven back to a primary consideration of them.

That largeness and simplicity of form may be attained with a yet very imperfect result in other respects, is evident from many painted vases, but most strikingly so, perhaps, from the sculptures of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. That it was frequently aimed at before the time of Pheidias is highly probable, if not in sculpture at least in the sister art of painting. Without assuming this we cannot read the records of Polygnotos, the painter, intelligibly. The attempt, whatever its shortcomings, was obviously a sign of the opening of the artistic mind of Greece to a wider view of the human frame than had prevailed before. The older forms suitable for energetic and violent action were to give way to others which with their ripeness and nobility of nature tended rather to suppress active sympathy, though not sympathy itself. Nausikaa, the princess, when her maids ran terrified at Odysseus, stood unmoved and anxious to assist him.¹

To this the study of the human form inevitably leads when it is a question of undemonstrativeness, and we imagine it was mainly a natural revulsion from the old expressiveness that brought about the search for opposite types.² But to seek must have meant then, as now,

¹ *Odyssey*, vi. 138.

² Aristotle, *Nic. Eth.* iv. 3, says :
ἐν μεγέθει γὰρ ἡ μεγαλοψυχία ὥσπερ καὶ

τὸ κάλλος ἐν μεγάλῳ σώματι, οἱ μικροὶ δ' ἄστέϊοι καὶ σύμμετροι, καλοὶ δ' οὐ.

many failures, and, so far as we know, the sculptor of the Parthenon was the first to find the standard of perfection in this respect. In his placid but yet sympathetic forms, every line, even in elaborate drapery, tells its tale, or we may rather say, strikes home. Nothing which truthfulness demands is sacrificed for effect. But many types of form possible in reality as in art admit of no such treatment even in dress. They cannot do justice to the simple garment in which they are clad. With such types the artist is perhaps wiser who sacrifices the figure to the dress than he who does the contrary. That was the course pursued frequently in later Greek art, as witness the numerous terra-cottas from Tanagra. There may never have been seen human forms so grandly endowed as those of the Aphrodite, Peitho and Hestia group, but in the upward gradation of form which was every day visible to the observer, it was possible to find a principle of development, so to speak, and to realize that principle. So also in dress there may never have been known any exactly the same as on those figures; but in the multitude of different effects that could daily be seen, taking all classes of the people together, an ideal scheme of drapery would reveal itself. It is such a scheme that the sculptor of the Parthenon has found. We have said that a multitude of different effects were to be seen in the dresses of everyday life. But it is to be remembered that these differences were confined, so far as the sculptor was concerned, to subordinate details in the folds. Fashion rarely changed. There was no shaping of dress to fit the body anywhere. A dress was merely a square or oblong piece of cloth with a girdle and a few pins. Its main lines were constant, the details were ever varying, and it was in reconciling this constancy and variability that the ideal principle was to be found. In the heavy material of the himation, or upper garment, there was far less of variability than in the thin fine texture of the chiton, and possibly it was easier to succeed with it for

the reason that it was less susceptible to the action of the forms underneath. At the same time, the range of treatment of which the himation was capable included very powerful effects. In the combination of both garments on the Aphrodite and Peitho, the heavy himation, with its deep and strongly-marked folds, is mainly relegated to the no less strongly-marked lower limbs, while the thin, fine chiton almost assists in displaying the softer forms of the body, such as were characteristic of the goddess and her attendant. In the opposite group of Demeter and Persephone it will be seen that the former exhibits nothing of this softness. Her chiton is of a thick material, forming deep folds, and having over her breast a diploïdion, which throws out strong and simple masses. Her himation is apparently of the same texture, and, except for the end of it lying across her right leg, is seen chiefly behind. Persephone is of a more youthful form, and wears a soft chiton, with the usual heavy himation across her lower limbs. Eileithyia has a thick, heavy chiton, the long sweeping folds of which express the rapidity of her movement. A similar chiton is characteristic of the swift-moving Athena.

Of male figures there remains from the east pediment the Dionysos to judge by, and even with him allowance has to be made for the want of the hands and feet and the injury that has been done to his face. The sharp outline of the eyebrows, defined almost as if it were an early work in bronze, still indicates what has been lost in the precision of the other features; not that they had been in any way hard in the general cast; on the contrary, they were manifestly soft. Precision and force pervade the rest of the figure, massive as it is in build and placid in the impression conveyed by the attitude. The bent knees and bent arms bring out sharply-defined bones, and throw out outlines which carry each other upwards (from the right to the left leg, from the right to the left arm, from the right shoulder to the left), and

serve to connect the figure with the groups nearer the centre. For it is a characteristic of any strongly marked tendency of outlines such as this that it produces what I may be allowed to call an echo beyond itself. The spectator instinctively looks for a continuation of the prevailing flow of outline in the figures immediately adjoining.¹ Similarly the left shoulder of Dionysos is thrown up and firmly marked; the head is decisively bent forward. So that with the ease of the figure as a whole there is combined an obvious capacity for and inclination to vigorous action. There is undoubtedly more breadth and muscular power in the body than would be expected in Dionysos. But a similar objection could be urged against almost every other figure in the pediment. We are, however, dealing with a composition which could not without massive forms have been carried out on the lines on which it was projected, whether or not these lines had been in general prescribed by a traditional rendering of the subject in Greek art.

The admirable preservation of the back of the Dionysos when taken together with the rough alteration of the rock on which he lies, shows that the figure had been placed hard against the back of the pediment with his legs in an oblique angle towards the front, as he appears in Lusieri's restoration.² His feet came

¹ In the *Classical Museum*, v. p. 268, I find it quoted from Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* (*Lehrjahre*, i. 8), that "the rich folds of her drapery multiplied like a thousand-fold echo the fascinating motions of the divinity." The simplest illustration I can give, however, is that which occurs in the ordinary circumstances of determining whether a picture shall have a square or an oval frame. If the prevailing lines suggest an oval, then the frame becomes what I have called an echo of them. The

same of course is the case with a square. By an inverse process, if the outline of a square or a circle be given and it be required to fill in the enclosed space decoratively, the most natural impulse seems to be to repeat or echo the enclosing lines till the square becomes a portcullis, and the circle a set of concentric circles.

² Lusieri's restoration is to be found among Lord Elgin's drawings in the Print Room of the British Museum. The central part is very fantastic.

against the necks of the nearest horses, which also had been some little distance back from the front, as may be gathered from the worked joint with the wave pattern along the top of it. In this respect they differed from the head of Selene's near horse, which slightly overhangs the edge of the pediment. With the Dionysos in this position the breadth and muscular power of his torso would come well into view. Similarly massive in its build is the upper part of a torso at Athens which has been identified as that of Hephæstos.¹

The horses of Helios have been injured beyond recognition in point of artistic merit. Not so the remaining head of one of Selene's steeds (Pl. VI.), which continues to be the wonder and admiration of everyone who has ever thought of the limits that are ordinarily set to the achievements of sculpture, especially in the realization of what is called lower forms of life. So pure is every line and every modulation of form that we shrink from trying to conceive the effect of the glittering bridle and reins which undoubtedly had been there originally, as if they must have lowered the purity of the artist's thought and hand. It is one of those instances which like the beauty of Helen can only be described by telling of the vast admiration it has received.

From the east pediment of the Parthenon to the west is a transition from the general importance of the birth of Athena to the particular interest with which the Athenians regarded the myth of her having usurped over Poseidon the function of their protecting deity. The scene is now confined to Attica, and is thus

¹ The attitude seems to have been that of moving to the right with a large stride, the body being full to the front, and the right arm raised high as if holding the axe over his head or shoulder. The left arm is thought also to have been raised high, but perhaps it may only have been extended side-

wards from the shoulder in a gesture of astonishment. The action of the muscles at the back appears to suggest this interpretation, and it is confirmed by the remains of drapery at the break, which, had the arm been raised high, would have fallen over on the shoulder.

localized by a river god at each extremity. Apparently the usual belief was that Poseidon had at one time been held to be the chief protector of Athens, but that when the new goddess Athena laid claim to this position it came to be ultimately a question whether the olive she had made to grow or the water he controlled were the greater benefit. As a climax of her power she caused an olive tree to shoot up on the bare rock of the acropolis, while he close beside it caused a spring to flow. This was the conclusive act of their rivalry, and the question to be decided from the sculptures is whether the central point of the composition was or was not the accomplishment of that act.¹

When Carrey made his drawing of this pediment, most of the figures, more or less mutilated, remained in their places, and it is therefore with his drawing that we have principally to deal as regards this question. The attitude both of Athena and Poseidon is one of revulsion, as if from a contest of words to the performing of deeds which would justify them.² But these deeds could not have been the planting of an olive or the striking out of a fountain, because it seems clear that the space in the very centre of the pediment had been already occupied by an olive tree, whether or not the fountain was also represented.

¹ Pausanias (i. 24, 5), while guarding himself, in describing the east pediment, against saying that it represented the birth of Athena directly—his words are that the sculptures referred to that event—says of the west pediment expressly that it represented the contest between Athena and Poseidon, τὰ δὲ πίισθεν ἢ Ποσειδῶνος πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶν ἔστω ἔρις ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς.

² We may take it that the ordinary conception of this dispute was such as we see, for example, on a relief in Smyrna (Mittheilungen d. Inst. in Athen, 1882, p. 48, pl.

i. fig. 2), on which Poseidon stands on the left with his left foot raised on a rock, and leaning his left arm on his left thigh, while his right hand rests on his trident. Opposite him stands Athena resting her right hand on her spear, her left on her hip. Between the deities is a figure of Victory standing behind a table on to which she is engaged in emptying votes from a vase. Behind each deity is a tree. In a note to the article accompanying this publication, Prof. Robert replies to the criticism of Petersen in the *Hermes*, xvii. p. 124.

It may be then that the revulsion of Poseidon indicates the defeat of his last attempt, and shows him still the stormy god who sought revenge in inundating the Thriasian plain.¹ The attitude of Athena is more

¹ Mr. Lloyd in the *Classical Museum*, v. p. 407, following Apollodorus, takes it that the quarrel (ἔρις) of Athena and Poseidon ensued from her pretensions as founded on her having produced the olive. The victory being next assigned to her, he proceeded to inundate the Thriasian plain. But in a very elaborate article in the *Hermes*, 1881, p. 60, Prof. Robert attributes a different revenge to Poseidon. His argument (p. 77) is : Poseidon struck out the well on the acropolis ; Athena then came and made the olive grow : Poseidon enraged at seeing her more successful act, advances to strike up the olive tree by the roots. It is this moment that the artist has seized. Im nächsten Augenblick müssen wir erwarten die Götter die Waffen auf einander richten zu sehen, says Robert, p. 83 ; and to this conclusion he was led chiefly by the design on a vase found at Kertsch, and now in St. Petersburg, published by Stephani in the *Compte-rendu de la Commission Archéologique*, 1872, pl. 1 ; the central group by De Witte in the *Monuments Grecs de l'Association des Etudes Grecques*, 1875. The Kertsch vase represents in the central group Athena much as in Carrey's drawing. The attitude of Poseidon, however, is reversed ; he is represented almost as if he were to follow Athena, taking with him the horse whose head he drags round after him. Between the deities is a tree, up among the branches of which is a Victory descending towards Athena. There is no doubt that we have here an instance of actual contest (ἔρις),

and this is the more evident from the way in which Dionysos advances on the side of Athena to assist her. From the words of Pausanias we expect such a scene on the Parthenon. On the other hand the attitude of the Poseidon is here so different from that of Carrey's drawing, while again his having a single horse, and it too in an attitude the reverse of what we expect from the figures—a charioteer and goddess accompanying the chariot—as drawn by Carrey, that we cannot obtain from the vase any substantial assistance in restoring the pediment except so far as concerns the tree and serpent, possibly also the Victory in the centre. It is true that M. Stephani and M. de Witte think otherwise, and to a great extent also Robert (*loc. cit.* p. 64), who, however, differs from them in regarding the horse not as a symbol of Poseidon, just produced to show his power, but simply as a horse on which he has come upon the scene. Petersen in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1875, p. 115, declines to accept the interpretation given by Stephani so far as concerns the Parthenon, and again in the *Hermes*, 1882, p. 130, we find stated the position he takes up : Poseidon, after having produced his wonder, may have advanced conscious of victory. When Athena immediately caused the olive to spring, he stepped back astonished and reluctantly. Petersen, *Hermes*, 1882, p. 132, admits that the vase painter had been dependent on the Parthenon pediment, though in regard to the horse of Poseidon, the introduction of Dionysos, and in other

difficult to explain unless we assume that it is partly also a movement to check and control the chariot horses beside her, and thus by exhibiting the power of utilizing them for which she was honoured in Attica to complete her victory over Poseidon with whom hitherto the horse had been associated. In this sense the contest with Poseidon would not be limited on her part to the planting of the olive, nor on his by the striking out of the fountain, though the presence of the olive in the centre, and perhaps also of the fountain, offered the most definite evidence of their rivalry. At the same time the chariot could be equally well understood to be Athena's, as in fact is the most general opinion. Evidently the chariot of Athena had been balanced in the composition by a group beside Poseidon, but in Carrey's drawing there is a gap which leaves it a matter of some uncertainty whether he also turned towards a chariot, though the probability is mainly in favour of that view. Some have thought that his yoke may have been one of hippocamps. But that is a notion which does not commend itself on a consideration of the harmoniousness of the whole scene.

The next question to be determined is the general cha-

matters, he had drawn from other sources.

The chief interest in the triangular discussion between Stephani, Petersen and Robert, turns on the question whether the symbols (σύμβολα, or μαρτύρια) of the contending parties being already in existence in the pediment and obvious to the spectator, it is wise to regard the persons present on both sides as the judges called upon to decide which of the two—the olive or the fountain—was best entitled to secure for its author the office of protecting deity of Athens. Petersen, *Hermes*, 1882, p. 131, believes that Pheidias had succeeded in rendering victory and

defeat in the action of the two deities without recourse to the presence of judges, which he regards as unsuited for sculpture. In this we agree entirely. Stephani, however, relies on the passage in Ovid, *Metam.* vi. 72, in which the judges are *bis sex caelestes*, the otherwise poetic expression *bis sex* being in his view an indication of two groups of gods. The judges were the twelve gods (θεοὺς δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα), says Apollodorus, and not the Attic heroes, Kekrops, Kranaos, or Erysichthon. In another version of the story (Robert, *Hermes*, 1881, p. 76) Zeus handed over the decision to the Athenians.

racter of the persons present; whether on the one side they were adherents of Athena, on the other, of Poseidon. If a broad distinction of this kind is to be made, it must be admitted to be singular that there should be at each extremity a river god, however much these beings may have been required to localize the scene. The river gods would necessarily take the part of Poseidon. The Kephissos (Pl. VIII.), on the side of Athena, with a sudden movement raises himself on his elbow and turns to see what is happening in the centre. No less agitated is the group next to him, known as Kekrops and one of his daughters (Pl. IX.). The daughter has rushed towards Kekrops with great fear, and thrown herself on her knees close to him; he, meantime, having raised himself on one hand receives with his shoulder the impetus from her. Her right arm is not placed affectionately¹ round his neck, but is thrown round it for protection, while her left appears to have been raised in alarm, with which motive also her head has been turned to the centre. Of the group of three figures next to her little is to be made from the drawing, except that the action of the boy in the middle bespeaks fear. In the chariot group we have Nike, or whoever the charioteer may be, reining in the horses with all her might, while with apparently an opposite desire, a god, probably Hermes,² is in the act of urging it forward. On the side of Poseidon there

¹ Lloyd, *Classical Museum*, v. p. 428, says, "the pair of figures next to Kephissos are obviously represented as man and wife by the affectionate character of the grouping, the female leaning on the male with her arm on his shoulder and neck." But though this interpretation has found some acceptance, I would refer to Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 182, for a thorough examination of the motive of this group, the result of which confirms what I have here said in the text. Petersen accepts

the group, along with Lloyd and others, to be Kekrops and one of his daughters, as against Michaelis who identified them with Asklepios and Hygieia. But he is uncertain whether the action of the daughter of Kekrops expresses great joy or alarm. See also Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. i. p. 311.

² The chlamys which hangs down his back, no less than his position beside the chariot—a position in which he frequently appears on the ancient vases—denotes him satisfactorily, I think, as Hermes.

is, as has been said, a gap sufficient, it would seem, for a chariot for him also. Not only does there exist still the right hind leg of a horse which from the way it is worked must have been placed hard against the back of the pediment, and must therefore have been on the side of Poseidon ;¹ but it is evident from the action of the figure (o), that she is a charioteer reining in horses, while again the female figure nearer the centre obviously corresponds to the Hermes on the farther side of Athena's chariot. There is thus no reason for doubt that Poseidon also had a chariot, and that towards it he partly turns. Proceeding to the right we find next a group of four female figures, the two nearest the centre being each accompanied by a child or boy. The second of these figures (s) is almost nude, and sits on the knees of the third (τ). Aphrodite, accompanied by Eros, seated in the lap of Thalassa is the usual explanation. It would be appropriate under any circumstances, and perhaps is more so on the side of Poseidon. Next comes a female figure (υ) whose action and name have not been determined. Then a river god (ν) now called the Ilissos, and a draped female figure known as the personification of the fountain Kallirrhoe which rises in the bed of the Ilissos at Athens. Carrey's drawing does not enable us to trace much excitement on Poseidon's side. Nor do the remains of the pediment help us much. We must, however, assume it to have existed, since in fact there was no other means of knitting the composition towards the centre, and since also it would have been

¹ Overbeck has pointed this out in detail in the *Berichte der k. sächs. Ges. d. Wissen.* 1879, p. 72. While this disproves the hippocamps which some had assumed, it seems to me also certain that the horse's leg here referred to cannot be explained as if it were the right hind leg of a horse in the position in which the single horse

of Poseidon appears on the Kertsch vase, though Stephani thinks so (*Compte-rendu*, 1881, p. 106). On his view the joint on the outside of the leg would be worked flat just where it was contiguous to the figure of Poseidon in front of it, but it has evidently been worked flat to fit close against another equally flat upright surface.

required for the sake of harmoniousness with the side of Athena.

The preponderance of female figures which we observed in the east pediment caused no surprise, because the great blank in the centre left us free to balance them by inserting a number of male deities whether rightly or wrongly. But here in the west pediment we are confronted with the fact that whoever the spectators may be, there is a most obvious dearth of male figures. If the spectators are deities there is a singular absence of gods. Personification of the hills, cliffs, and coast of Attica is a bold idea, but it relies too much on a sense of the picturesque. Nor does it account for the three boys or infants. Apart from the contending deities, the rest of the composition is mainly one of women and children. The boys remind us a little of the statue of the Nile god with his crowd of infantile genii. Perhaps here also their presence was appropriate in the company of the god of the sea and all rivers. Hardly satisfactory is it if we must regard them as representing the first inhabitants of Attica, those of the time of Kekrops. Even a combination of these inhabitants with deities does not altogether remove the difficulty. Yet it would be in character with the olive tree and the well of Poseidon in the centre, with the express localization of the myth, and with the fact that after all it was a contest of deities and could not well have been left to be witnessed by mortals or semi-mortals alone. No doubt heavily draped figures—and in Greek art these are mostly female figures—are of the utmost advantage to an artist who has to fill a large space, such as a pediment of the Parthenon, with a simple and massive composition, especially where the action is powerfully concentrated in the principal figures. Nude figures usually require more energy of action than is consistent with this centralization. Hence, the Hermes (H) with his vigorous movement is to a considerable extent concealed behind the horses of

Athena. But, whatever an artist's desires may be, he must proceed on facts, or on such general belief as would ensure instant intelligibility to his design; and though in this instance we may fail to understand the design completely, we must nevertheless assume that it was perfectly clear to the ancient Athenians, with this reservation that in so local a subject, figures may have been readily recognised by them, at least in the time of Pheidias, which to the rest of mankind had only a vague existence.

The statement of Pausanias that in the west pediment was to be seen the strife of Athena and Poseidon suggests a comparison of those ancient vases on which scenes of contests occur, not so much with reference to the contending parties themselves as for the sake of obtaining, if possible, some clue to the spirit in which their surroundings were usually conceived. And first I would call attention to a beautiful vase from Kertsch,¹ on which is represented the peaceful contest of the three goddesses for the prize of beauty. In the background are two chariots confronted, and between them stand, invisibly, but looking on at the scene, two female figures, the one bearing the name of Eris, the other of Themis. On another vase of a style older than the Parthenon, we find strife personified as a winged-female figure between two confronted chariots.² While this subject repeats itself more or less exactly, we find frequently on those early vases that scenes of contest are emphasized by being placed between two chariots.³

¹ Now in St. Petersburg, published by Stephani in the *Comptendu*, 1861, pl. 3: and Benndorf's *Vorlegeblätter*, ser. A. pl. 11, fig. 1.

² Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, i. pl. 20. The name of the goddess is inscribed $\text{IPI}\Sigma$ where obviously $\text{EPI}\Sigma$ is intended. The same design occurs on an archaic hydria in the British Museum (Vase Cat. No. 484).

³ *a*) On a krater with black figures in the British Museum (Vase Cat. No. 560), the work of Nikosthenes, we find Zeus and Athena interfering between Herakles and Kyknos. On each side of this central scene is a chariot. *b*) Again, on a fragment of a vase of the same style, Zeus (?) interferes between Herakles and Kyknos: on each side is a chariot. *c*) Kylix with

Thus the centralizing of a contest by means of two chariots shutting in the principal combatants, was not only an artistic tradition older than the sculptures of the Parthenon, but for the peculiar form of a pediment it was of undoubted advantage, as we shall see also in regard to the temple of Zeus at Olympia. It may be said that the drawing of Carrey practically places it beyond doubt that there were two chariots in the Parthenon pediment. But it is of some consequence also to know that in this respect the sculptor had followed what appears to have been the general tradition in the composition of scenes of contest.

It remains now to examine individually the few statues that have survived from this pediment. First in importance is the figure reclining in the left angle, who, from the analogy of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, has been recognized as a river-god, and finally as the Kephissos (Pl. VIII.).¹

In an ancient description of a picture representing the chariot contest of Pelops and Œnomaos it is said that the river-god, Alpheios, rises from his waves to reach a crown to Pelops,² and from many quarters there is evidence of the poetic charm which attached to the personality of the rivers of Greece. A last echo of it sounds yet in Milton's "Return Alpheius, the dread voice is past." Here the Kephissos is stirred from his

black figures in the British Museum—combat centralized between two chariots. *d*) A somewhat similar vase in Gerhard's Auserlesene Vasenbilder, i. pll. 61-62.

¹ Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 192, gives a very appreciative description of this figure. Compare Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 196.

² Philostratus, i. 17, Πηδᾶ καὶ Ἀλφειὸς ἐκ τῆς δίνης, κοτίνου τινὰ ἐξάιρων στέφανον τῷ Πέλοπι προσελάυνοντι τῇ ὕχθῃ. The picture may have been as a whole, imaginary, but

the details could not have been invented by Philostratus—such at least is the general verdict now on his writings. It is a more realistic rendering, when we find the river-god of the Orontes placed under the feet of the personification of the city of Antioch, as in the well-known marble figure, and in a small silver representation of the same subject in the British Museum. On the Greek river-gods, see Mr. Gardner, in the *Transactions of the R. Society of Literature*, 2d ser. xi. p. 173.



RIVER GOD, KEPHISSOS. FROM WEST PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON.

shelving rocky bed by the tumult which the contest of Athena and Poseidon produces. The suddenness of his movement is indicated by one of the favourite methods of ancient art: he clutches, so to speak, an end of his mantle with his right hand as if to throw it about him when he has once risen to his feet. The other end hanging loosely over his left arm, shows that a moment before this he was resting undisturbed. Behind him the mantle does not cling or lie close to his back as with other figures it would be expected to lie. It falls away as if wet and heavy, and lies in long wavy folds on the uneven bed of the river,¹ leaving bare the still well-preserved beauty of his back, large and simple in its forms. It was, however, with the front view that the sculptor had mainly to deal. There he has found in the attitude of the river-god—subservient as it is to the general composition—an opportunity of displaying the living human form as an organism of perfectly adapted bone and muscle, flesh and skin, the whole permeated and moved by vitality. Though the proportions are large, bordering on the colossal, yet this is in effect not perceived, so harmonious are they, and so seductive to the eye is the rendering of the subtle phases of life and form peculiar to the various parts of the body. The massive structure of the chest and ribs is forced forward, and may be seen behind the thin covering of skin and muscle; it may be seen and felt to be powerful; yet it has no strongly marked outlines, but in their place extraordinary subtlety of modelling. The yielding substance of the abdomen readily adapts itself to the new attitude, and again we pass to the powerful lower limbs. In the exigency of space, the under-side of his left leg has been cut down, the effect being much as if it were still in the water.² Altogether, it may be said

¹ Michaelis, *der Parthenon*, p. 193, very justly quotes with approval, the remark in Ellis' *Elgin Marbles*, ii. p. 23, "it has the

appearance of drapery passing through water."

² Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 193.

that for the scarcity of male figures in this pediment, there had been a compensation in the beauty bestowed on such as there were, if we may judge by the Kephissos.

The next group (B and C, see Pl. IX.), known as Kekrops and one of his daughters, remains in its original place on the Parthenon, much mutilated and weather-worn. As we have already said, the attitude on her part is one of alarm. Her position on her knees indicates the final stage of a rush to her father, in which the end of her mantle has become twisted round her feet, and has helped to throw her; the other end is still on her right shoulder. Even the fastening of her chiton on the left shoulder has been burst asunder, with one end hanging loose over her left breast. It is a light, thin chiton she wears, which lies close to her limbs. Kekrops has raised himself in time to receive the shock with his left shoulder, supported by the arm strained down to an object, on which his hand rests firmly. Whether or not that object was a piece of rock, it seems certain that immediately in front of it were the coils of a serpent.¹ The difficulty at present is that Kekrops seems to rest his whole weight on that creature. He sits on what seems to be a continuation of its coils. But beyond the vigorous action of this group, and the large forms

¹ The original of this part of a serpent is in the British Museum, and it was Mr. Lloyd who found that it fits here (Classical Museum, v., p. 429). It was this serpent in a great measure which led Michaelis to adopt the name of Asklepios for this figure. It is, however, a suitable attribute of Kekrops also. Boetticher, in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1870, p. 62, contends that it is on the body of some sea-creature that this figure rests, and that he is therefore a personification of a coast district, while the female figure at his side would

personify an island. The two together would represent to the Athenian mind, Marathon and Salamis. In this respect it may be said that Boetticher had anticipated Brunn in principle, who makes Kekrops and his daughter into Mounts Kithaeron and Parnes; while in other figures of this pediment he recognises Mt. Lykabettos, the coast from Mynichia to the Piræus, Cape Kolias, Cape Zoster, Paralos and the Myrtoan sea (*Berichte d. bayer. Akad. d. Wissen.* 1874).



KEKROPS AND HIS DAUGHTER. WEST PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON.

of both the figures, little remains to be pointed out in particular.

From here onwards we have only fragments, the body of Hermes (H), part of the chest of Athena, and of the body of Poseidon, part of his charioteer (o), of the seated female figure (q), the river god Ilissos and a fragment of Kallirrhoe. There are many who think that the Victory (i) usually assigned to the east pediment, belongs rather to the west, and is to be identified with the figure who in Carrey's drawing accompanies the chariot of Poseidon and thus is a companion to the Hermes on the side of Athena. There is the closest resemblance between this statue and the drawing. Nor is the statement of the Victory having been found in the east pediment to be set against the circumstance that Carrey had not seen it there or he would have included it in his drawing.¹ It is urged, however, that a Victory on the side of Poseidon would be out of place. But this figure, although it was winged, need not have been a Victory. Iris would balance the Hermes most justly, and hence if we accept this statue for the west pediment it would be necessary to adopt this name. At the same time there is no difficulty in assuming that there had been in the east also a similar figure. In all probability there had been a Victory there to welcome Athena.² But whether she was represented in the costume of this figure is open to doubt, and so long as it remains so,

¹ The finding of the Victory rests on the statement of Visconti, see Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 175. The words of Visconti are that the torso of the Victory "does not appear in the drawings of Nointel, but it has been found thrown down on the floor of the pediment" (Letter from Canova and two memoirs by E. Q. Visconti, translated from the French and Italian. London, John Murray, 1816). Brunn, *Berichte d. bayer. Akad.*

d. Wissen. 1874, is one of those who place the Victory in the west pediment, and identify it with the figure in Carrey's drawing. So also Boetticher, before him, in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1870, p. 60.

² A figure, not unlike in costume, attitude and form, was found among the sculptures at Delos, obtained during the French excavations. (*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, iii. pl. 10.)

we are inclined rather to identify the statue with the figure drawn by Carrey in the west pediment. Under the feet of the charioteer (o), he draws the head of a marine creature of some kind connected with Poseidon. Of the seated female figure next to the charioteer only the lower part remains, and from this it is impossible to make out her action. But of the boy close to her right side there is still enough to show that he has rushed to her for protection, pressing against her side as if to climb up into her lap, his right hand being planted on her knee and holding at the same time the end of his himation. As usual in alarm, he has first seized the end of his mantle with one hand; the rest of it passes between him and the protecting female figure and then falls round his left leg with a force which indicates the rapidity of his movement.¹ He appears to have stood on the rock on which the female figure was seated; but this part of the group had been sculptured on a separate piece of marble and is now lost. The drawing of the next group represents Aphrodite, nude, seated in the lap of Thalassa. It would have been extremely interesting to have compared the treatment of this nude female figure, first with the draped figures beside it, and, secondly with the nude figures of later art. The torso of the river god Ilissos with that of Kallirrhoe remains on the Parthenon. It will be seen that he is nearer the centre than the Kephissos, and that his action has reached a higher point of excitement.

¹ Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 192, rightly understood the action of this figure, though he confesses that he did not understand *die unruhigen Falten im Gewande der Mutter*. But on the explanation we have given these folds become clear, and it is difficult to comprehend how Mr. Lloyd (Classical Museum, v., p. 422) could have written about them as follows: "A fragment of the figure and legs of Melicertes remains attached to

the figure of Ino, from which it appears that he was represented as a full-grown boy perfectly naked *except so far as he was enveloped in the drapery of his mother*." He adds that "the drapery of Leucothea (Ino) is wonderfully fine." Again, on p. 423, he says: "the envelopment of mother and son in a common garment is too remarkable an arrangement not to have had a special meaning."

On a general view it may be observed, that as in the east pediment, so here also, there is no strict balance or responsion between the two angles, as for example in the earlier sculptures of Aegina. A mastery of the art of composition had intervened, and had shown that there could be decoration without formality. No doubt it is only in a limited degree that we can now appreciate this circumstance. Yet we can see the tendency of it, to make every individual figure worthy of its individuality, and no longer part of a machine, so to speak. Every figure is independent bodily. It is only in sympathy that they are united into one composition. In older art the necessary unison of action was obtained with the loss of bodily individuality, and therefore the loss of scope for idealism in a large sense.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PHEIDIAS.

Sculptures of the Parthenon—Employment of several artists on them—Comparison of Pheidias with Polykleitos—Influence of the painter Polygnotos—Gold and ivory statues of Athena in the Parthenon, and of Zeus at Olympia—Tales concerning Pheidias—Marathonian group at Delphi—Gold and ivory statue of Athena at Pellene—Statue of Athena at Plataeae—Bronze Athena on the Acropolis of Athens—The Lemnian Athena also on the Acropolis—Aphrodite in Athens and in Elis—Statues of other deities by Pheidias—Athena Parthenos—Description—Ancient copies of it—Zeus at Olympia—Description of statue and of reliefs on throne—Enclosure round the statue—Sculptures on the base—The ideal of Zeus.

THE sculptures of the Parthenon stand alone among the remains of Greek art, just as Pheidias in ancient times stood among artists. They were executed during a period in which he was responsible for the sculpture at least of the new public buildings at Athens,¹ and they belong to that building in particular which was not only to be the greatest of its day, but was also to receive what we must regard as till then the highest effort of his genius, the gold and ivory statue of Athena Parthenos. These sculptures are therefore justly associated with his name, and if we have avoided the common use of it in describing them, it has been from a conviction that whatever his actual share in the production of them may have been, they must yet be regarded as falling short of his attainments in isolated statues, such as the Athena or the Zeus at Olympia, and as in fact not fully repre-

¹ Plutarch, Vit. Pericl. 13, says: *ἣν αὐτῷ Φειδίας καίτοι μεγάλους ἀρχιτέκτονας ἔχόντων καὶ τεχνίτας τῶν ἔργων.*
πάντα δὲ διείπε καὶ πάντων ἐπίσκοπος

senting his position in the world of art. Sculptors still recognised as their highest duty the production of statues which, by their grandeur and splendour, would enlarge the reverence of the people towards the gods. The external decoration of a temple was of secondary importance, and apparently it was only seldom that any record was preserved of the authorship of such sculptures. They rather came within the province of the architect (*ἀρχιτέκτων*). When it is stated that Skopas was the architect of the temple of Athena at Tegea, it is understood that the external sculptures of the building were by him.¹ On this analogy the sculptures of the Parthenon would be ascribed to Iktinos and Kallikrates, were it not for the power of directing and supervising which Pheidias possessed, and is expressly said to have exercised.² Invested with this power he would spare no effort

¹ Pausanias, viii. 45, 4, speaking of this temple at Tegea says: *Ἀρχιτέκτονα δὲ ἐπυνθανόμεν Σκόπανα τοῦ γένεσθαι τὸν Πάριον ὃς καὶ ἀγάλματα πολλὰ τοῦ τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑλλάδος τὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνῶν τε καὶ Καρίων ἐποίησε.* The same authority says that the architect of the theatre at Epidauros was Polykleitos (ii. 27, 5), and he praises very highly its *harmonia* and beauty. The excavation of this theatre was completed in 1881. For plans and an account of the excavations, see the *Praktika* of the Archaeological Society of Athens, for the year 1881. Compare the report in the *Ἀθήναιον*, 1881, p. 53.

² Pausanias, viii. 41, 5, *Ἰκτίνος ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων τοῦ ἐν Φιγαλείᾳ ναοῦ γεγονῶς τῇ ἡλικίᾳ κατὰ Περικλέα καὶ Ἀθηναίους τὸν Παθεῶνα καλούμενον κατασκεύασας.* He is included with Kallikrates among the *μεγάλους ἀρχιτέκτονας* and *τεχνίτας ἔργων*, whom Plutarch says, in the passage cited above, Pheidias had under him. Indeed, Wilkins (in the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons

on the Elgin Marbles, 1816) expressly says (p. 111), that the words of Plutarch clearly prove that Pheidias had nothing at all to do with the works of the Parthenon, the true authors of which he believes were Iktinos and Kallikrates, Pheidias having made the designs.

Beulé (*L'Acropole d'Athènes*, 2nd edit. pp. 256—263) puts forward with diffidence his idea, that the west pediment may have been by Alkamenes, arguing that the competition between him and Pheidias, reported by Tzetzes, is best explained on this view. According to this report, the statue made by Pheidias was only seen to be the better of the two when it was raised to the height for which it was intended. M. Beulé points out that the Greeks did not erect single figures in this way, and that the careful finishing of the statues of the Parthenon before they were raised to the pediments, might well have given occasion to the story as reported by Tzetzes. According to this Byzantine author, Pheidias

to have the sculptures, which were, so to speak, the setting of his statue within the temple, consonant with the spirit of it. Such is the argument in its barest form. Obviously it leaves open the possibility of his having himself had an important share in the production of these sculptures, and when this is taken into account along with the circumstance that they enable us sometimes to realize vividly artistic qualities ascribed by the ancients to him, and to no one else, it will be admitted that there is good reason for associating them with his name to the exclusion of all other artists except as pupils trained in his school. The work of Iktinos we may be said to know in the frieze of the temple of Apollo at Phigaleia, now in the British Museum, and taking the best of the figures in it—for they are very unequal in merit—the most that can be affirmed is that he was admirably qualified to have worked on the Parthenon sculptures under the control of a less hasty and a more powerful mind than his own. With a somewhat similar result we have of late years become acquainted with the work of Alkamenes in the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.

A modern sculptor¹ who has examined this question with great care, after calculating the space of six years as the probable duration of the building of the Parthenon, observes: “to have made, executed, or even modelled or designed only, the 44 statues of the tympana within this period, he must have been a man of astonishing

owed his success over Alkamenes to his knowledge of perspective and geometry, and this leads M. Beulé to remark very justly, that the remaining sculptures of the east pediment exhibit a very marked study of perspective, as for example in the so-called Theseus, and the group of the Fates. Ronchaud, *Phidias, sa Vie et ses Ouvrages*, p. 201, quotes this theory of Beulé, but gives no judgment on it. Mr. Story, the

sculptor, writing in *Blackwood's Magazine*, (Dec. 1873, p. 696), rejects the incident reported by Tzetzes, on this ground, that the impossibility of applying perspective to a figure meant to be seen all round, renders the report absurd. But M. Beulé's explanation would meet that difficulty, and so far rescue Tzetzes.

¹ Mr. Story, in *Blackwood's Magazine*, Dec. 1873, p. 686.

activity and rapidity in his work. If we add the 92 metopes, and 524 feet of figures in relief, the mere designing in clay of all the figures and groups becomes impossible." He concludes that the execution of the colossal statue within the Parthenon, and the general superintendence which Pheidias exercised would have amply occupied his time. By way of positive argument, it is urged that the style and character of the Parthenon sculptures are such as would be expected from a combination of various artists trained in one and the same grand school, such artists as Pheidias was then surrounded by.¹ There is in fact no reason why there should not have been among them men standing in much the same relation to him in point of ability as the sculptures of the Parthenon, supposing them to have been by himself, would have stood to his work in

¹ Mr. Story, *loc. cit.*, p. 701—"The style of the figures in the pediments is broad, large, and effective, but it is decorative in its character. The parts are classed and distributed with skill, but they are often forced in order to produce effect at a distance, and in the place where they were to be seen. They show the practised hands of men who have been trained in a grand school, but they cannot be said to be finished with elaborate attention to details, or minute study of parts. . . . The same remarks apply to the metopes and the frieze. It is evident that these works are of the same period, but in style, design and execution, they differ from each other as the works of various men of the same school might be expected to differ." Compare M. Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, 2nd ed. p. 282: "Les métopes sont d'un style particulier qui n'est ni celui de la frise ni celui des frontons. Cette manière a parfois de la gaucherie, de la dureté, de l'archaïsme : parfois des beautés solides et écla-

tantes qui rappellent les sculptures du temple de Thésée et la frise du temple de la Victoire. Ce ne sont donc pas seulement des auteurs différents qui s'y trahissent, mais une école qui n'est pas celle de Phidias."

M. Ronchaud (*Phidias, sa Vie et ses Ouvrages*, p. 244) recognises that several hands had been employed on these sculptures, but maintains that the unity of the conception belongs to Phidias alone, no less than the actual execution of some of the parts of it to which a special degree of beauty was to be attached. To the same effect Petersen (*Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 2) says: "Wir werden die vollendeten Stücke höchstens gut genug achten für den Meister ohne ihn dafür in Anspruch nehmen zu dürfen. Die Auswahl dagegen der Gegenstände für die Giebel, Metopen und den Fries, sowie die Erfindung und Zeichnung wenigstens der Giebel und des Frieses müssen wir einem Geiste entsprungen denken."

the colossal statues of ivory and gold for which he was famed.

While nothing is to be made of vague assertions, such as that Pheidias excelled all others, that the first sight of any of his works carried approval, or even that by his statues of gods he added a new honour to religion;¹ there is on the other hand a clear advantage in bearing in mind those expressions which assign to his sculptures largeness, dignity, gravity, magnificence, and which again declare that with largeness he combined exactitude and finish.² It was a simple necessity of the time that the precious materials in which his greatest statues were executed should be worked to a perfect finish, and so far the tradition may be implicitly accepted. But the qualities of largeness of style, dignity, gravity, and magnificence, are in themselves all of a relative signification, and in a great measure elude our grasp. They are to be seen on vases, the designs of which it is usual to ascribe to the influence of Polygnotos,³ and they are to be seen also in the sculptures from the temple of Zeus at Olympia, but always accompanied by a want of *akribeia*, or exactitude and finish; so much so that in these last mentioned sculptures the effect of the statues individually is often

¹ Phidiae simulacris nihil perfectius (Cicero, Orat. ii. 8); Minervam Athenis aut Olympium in Elide Jovem cuius pulchritudo adiecisse aliquid etiam receptae religioni videtur (Quintilian, xii. 10); Phidiam clarissimum esse per omnes gentes (Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 4).

² τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ μεγαλοτεχνὸν καὶ ἀξιοματικὸν (Dionysius of Halicar. de Isocrat. 3; τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἡρώων *ibid.*); ἔχοντοσά τε καὶ μεγαλείον καὶ ἀκριβὲς ἅμα (Demetrius of Phalerum, De Eloc. 14). Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, Nos. 780-807. Eméric David, Hist. de la Sculpt. Ant. p. 152; see also Mr. Story,

loc. cit., and Brunn, Gr. Künstler, i. p. 204 and 206.

³ These vases are usually of what is called the severe red figure style, but the same artistic effect may be seen also on a polychrome kylix with design on a white ground found at Nola and now in the British Museum (Élite des Mon. Céram. iii. pl. 44), representing Hephaestus and Athena making Pandora. Largeness of style is very marked in the chest and head of Hephaestus, yet it is all lost in his legs and left arm. So also in the Olympian sculptures largeness of style which is impressive in one part is lost in another.

disagreeable. We must conclude that Pheidias had mastered this difficulty, not only because tradition says so, but because it is overcome and removed in the sculptures of the Parthenon, so far as it could well be in works conceived and executed in marble for decorative purposes. Polykleitos may have surpassed him in finish, and in a fine sense of nature in parts and details; but he failed in dignity and largeness of style—that gift which, in the judgment of the ancients, seemed to determine Pheidias to be specially a sculptor of gods. In reality it may find scope also among men, yet it is a gift which, when fairly displayed, always moves men with a feeling of the mysterious.¹ In the Zeus at Olympia it appears to have been displayed with the greatest power. To that statue his fame always returned in antiquity. Compared with Athena, Zeus presented a grander opportunity, and doubtless in earlier and in contemporary art, an ideal of him had been worked out, which would serve Pheidias at once as an example and a warning.

The first real progress in the direction of largeness of style seems to have been made by the painter Polygnotos, and when we consider the limited resources of the art of painting as practised in his time, and the necessity that lay upon it of achieving an instantaneous effect, it is not surprising that it should have preceded the sister art of sculpture in striking out in the direction here referred to. The pictures of Polygnotos were famous in Athens when Pheidias was a young man, and are not unlikely to have exercised a powerful influence on him. It is said that Pheidias began life as a painter, and it may at least be imagined that skill so acquired had enabled him to design rapidly large compositions

¹ One of the phrases applied to Pheidias by Dio Chrysostom (Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, No. 706) is *δαιμόνιος ἐργάτης*, and that expression answers still to our feelings at

the contemplation of any very great work of art.

² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 54. Cum et Phidiam ipsum initio pictorem fuisse tradatur.

such as those of the Parthenon. His father, Charmides, lived in Athens. According to the hereditary usage of the time, it may be supposed that he also had been an artist, eclipsed, as the descendants of Pheidias afterwards were, by the great luminary of the family. If Panaenos,¹ the painter, is rightly called a brother of Pheidias, there would be the more reason for concluding that Charmides had been a painter and had instructed both sons in his art. The next stage of Pheidias was to become a pupil of the Argive sculptor Ageladas, with whom he would have constant opportunities of acquiring exactitude and finish; so that between this professional training and the pictorial influence of Polygnotos, he may be said to have obtained a substantial foundation for his genius to build upon. It is possible that Ageladas was at work in Athens during this period. The alternative is, that Pheidias had joined him in Argos. That he had previously studied under the Athenian sculptor Hegias² is a reasonable conjecture.

The gold and ivory statue of Athena was erected within the Parthenon in the year B.C. 438, and if it be true that Pheidias introduced on the shield of the goddess a portrait of himself as a bald-headed old man³ (*πρεσβεύτης φαλακρός*), it would be a reasonable interpre-

¹ He is called sometimes brother and sometimes nephew, *ἀδελφός* and *ἀδελφιδούς*.

² Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 158.

³ Plutarch, *Perikl.* 31, says that Pheidias having been acquitted of the charge brought by Menon, a former assistant, of having appropriated part of the gold allowed him for the statue of Athena, was next denounced for having introduced on the shield of the goddess portraits of himself (as a bald-headed old man) and of Perikles. Plutarch proceeds, "Pheidias at last ended his life in a prison. Some say that he died a natural death, others that he was poisoned

by his enemies, who intended to take occasion from thence to slander Perikles. As to the informer Menon, the people granted him an immunity from taxes by a decree which was proposed by Glykon, and the generals were charged to provide for his security." For the passages in ancient writers referring to the portrait of Pheidias on the shield, see Overbeck's *Ant. Schriftquellen*, Nos. 668-674.

Eméric David (*Hist. de la Sculpt.* *Ant.* p. 130) suggests that 56-58 years of age would be a fair interpretation of the phrase of Plutarch, "a bald-headed old man."

tation of that expression to say, that he was then something under 60 years of age. On the one hand such an age is consistent with the high position which he had occupied for a number of years previously during the administration of Perikles, though obviously this exalted position does not in itself exclude the possibility of his having been a few years younger. On the other hand there is, without direct evidence to the fact, some difficulty in conceiving that the greatest work of his life, the statue of Zeus at Olympia, was produced by him between the age of 60 and 70. Yet such is the tendency of the facts. It is, however, to be remembered, that this was the only statue of Zeus that Pheidias is known to have made, and it is scarcely credible that with his active mind, inclined as it was to the creation of figures of deities,¹ he had not long before conceived a type of the greatest of all the gods which he was well prepared to carry out when occasion offered. It is said that he went at once to Olympia after the Athena was finished, and there is nothing against our supposing that he had made some at least of his preparations while at work in Athens. Indeed, it is only on that view that the charge against him can be fully understood of having appropriated part of the gold and ivory allowed him for the Athena.² He could no doubt

¹ Diony. Halicar. de Isocrat. 3, speaks of Pheidias and Polykleitos as ἐν τοῖς μείζονι καὶ θεοτέροις δεξιώτεροι; see also the list of his works in Overbeck's Ant. Schriftquellen, Nos. 663–774.

² It is clear from line 605 of the "Peace" of Aristophanes, that Pheidias had fallen into some trouble; the words of the poet are Φειδίας πρᾶξας κακῶς, which the scholiast proceeds to explain by a quotation from the chronicler Philochoros, who entered under the year B.C. 438 (that is in the archonship of Theodoros) the statement that the

statue of Athena was set up in the Parthenon in that year, that Pheidias the artist of it having been charged with appropriating the ivory for it, was condemned, and that, as was said, having escaped to Elis, he there made the statue of Zeus, and having made it died . . . by the Eleians. The blank I have here indicated is filled by another scholiast, also professing to quote from Philochoros, to the effect that Pheidias had appropriated some of the gold of the Athena, was sentenced to exile, fled to Elis, made there the statue of Zeus, was

have sold these materials ; but the popular mind would hardly have been attracted, as it is said to have been, by so base a charge. The whole story may be a mere fiction invented out of the circumstance that the golden drapery of the Athena was so made that it could be removed and accurately weighed for purposes connected

condemned by the Eleians for theft, and was slain by them. But it is incredible that this could have been done by those very Eleians who so greatly honoured Pheidias that they preserved his workshop to be seen by visitors to Olympia in aftertimes, and retained his descendants for the preservation of the statue. And accordingly we prefer to follow Mr. Müller-Strübing (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher* 1882, pp. 289-340) in adhering to the first scholiast, and in reading the blank in his record as if it were "died *much honoured* by the Eleians."

The strongest testimony to the innocence of Pheidias (if not also to the non-existence of any special charge against him, except in later fiction) is to be found, as Éméric David pointed out as long ago as 1817 (*Hist. de la Sculpt. Ant.* p. 140) in the fact that Aristophanes, to whom any such public scandal would have been very useful, speaks only of *Φειδίας πράξας κακῶς*. It is idle to argue that this phrase may mean anything, from a slight misfortune to a great crime, because it was the spirit of the poet to seize upon anything like a public crime and hold it up to abuse. He must be held therefore to employ the phrase in its ordinary sense 'Pheidias having been unfortunate,' which from the context would mean, 'having met with ill treatment.' "Not to share his fate, and distrusting the fickleness of the Athenians, Perikles before any ill had befallen him, set the town in

a blaze by issuing the Megarean decree." To this effect Aristophanes proceeds, and it is clear enough that, whatever was the misfortune from which Pheidias suffered, it had been a serious one, or was supposed by the poet to have been so. Perikles could only have been involved with him had the charge been one of squandering public money on the sculptures and buildings which he directed, and it is probable that this was the case, since Plutarch, in his life of Perikles, says that he was continually declaimed against in the assemblies for his extravagant expenditure in this direction. He kept whole armies of artisans and artists of every kind employed. Pheidias having once fallen under censure in connection with these works, Perikles could not hope to escape, since he was the chief mover of them, except by directing the public attention to a new war. Plutarch then says that the enemies of Pheidias having failed in this charge, he was next condemned for having placed portraits of himself and of Perikles on the shield of the Athena and for that died in prison. See note *ante*, p. 104.

This subject of the charges against Pheidias is discussed very fully by Müller-Strübing, *loc. cit.* ; by Sauppe, in the *Gött. Nachr.* 1867, p. 173 ; by Petersen, *Arch. Zeit.* 1867, p. 22 ; by Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.* 1877, p. 134 ; by Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, p. 158 ; and by Brunn in the *Berichte d. bayer. Akad. d. Wissen.* 1878, p. 460.

with the public treasury, and not with the object of attesting the honesty of the artist should it ever be called in question. But if it has any foundation of truth, it would support the view here put forward as otherwise reasonable, that before leaving Athens in B.C. 438 he made preparations for the gold and ivory statue of Zeus at Olympia. The task that was set him there was the natural climax of his life, and may well have been executed in what would ordinarily be called old age.

The year of the birth of Pheidias would then be placed somewhere near B.C. 500. He thus lived through the commotions and changing passions occasioned by the Persian wars, and must be supposed to have exercised his high talents frequently previous to the time when he placed them at the service of Perikles. Kimon, the predecessor of Perikles in the encouragement of art and in the embellishment of the acropolis as well as in the governing of Athens, is associated with a monument erected at Delphi to commemorate the part of the Athenians at the battle of Marathon. Among the figures which constituted this monument was one of Miltiades, whose fame thus appears to have recovered from the obloquy under which he died. It is not doubted that this as well as the ordering of the monument in question was due to his son Kimon.

Between the victory at the mouth of the Eurymedon in B.C. 469, by which Kimon re-established the name of his family, and the surrender to him of the island of Thasos after a long blockade in B.C. 463, is a period to which the Marathonian monument at Delphi may with probability be assigned. Even thus early Delphi had become a national centre for monuments of successful wars.¹

¹ Two groups commemorative of war, were erected by the Tarentines, one by Onatas and the other by Ageladas (Pausanias, x. 10, 3, and x. 13, 5). The largest groups

of this kind were those of the Tegeans (Pausanias, x. 9, 3), of the Lacedaemonians (Pausanias, *loc. cit.*), and of the Argives (Pausanias, *loc. cit.*)

The Pythia, though she had declined the spoils brought from Salamis by Themistokles,¹ accepted afterwards those obtained by his rival Kimon at the Eurymedon when they had been converted into a figure of Athena on a palm tree.² The artist is not mentioned. It was Pheidias who was employed for the Marathonian group. His master, Ageladas, had executed a group at Delphi for the Tarentines; but on what principle of composition the thirteen figures of which it consisted were grouped, it is impossible to determine. There is no obvious coherency of action between the numerous persons of which the various national monuments at Delphi consisted, except such as may be imagined in the grouping of legendary heroes and mortals around the one or two deities with whom they are associated. Otherwise they seem to be mere assemblies of figures, which there would be less difficulty in conceiving if they had been in relief, or, at any rate, enclosed in an architectural framework, if they were statues. The evidence goes to prove that they were statues. In both the Tegean and the Lacedaemonian groups the figures were allotted among different sculptors, and this would hardly have been the case with reliefs.

In the time of Pausanias the Marathonian monument by Pheidias consisted of the following figures:³—Athena, Apollo, Miltiades, Kodros, Theseus, Phileas, and seven of the ten legendary representatives of the Attic tribes, or phylae—Erechtheus, Kekrops, Pandion, Teos, Antiochos, Aegeus, Akamas. The three missing tribes, Oeneis, Hippothöontis, and Aeantis, seem to have been replaced in a later age by figures of Antigonos, Deme-

¹ Pausanias, x. 14, 3.

² Pausanias, x. 15, 3, and Plutarch, Nikias, 13, 3. Benndorf, Festschrift, 1879, p. 38, rightly connects the palm tree here as a symbol of victory over an Oriental nation. Pausanias tells how a flock of crows pecked away much

of the gold with which this figure had been gilded.

³ Pausanias, x. 10, 1: Τῷ βάθρῳ δὲ τῷ ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τὸν δούρειον (an anathema of the Argives) ἐπίγραμμα μὲν ἔστω ἀπὸ δεκάτης τοῦ Μαραθωνίου ἔργου τεθῆναι τὰς εἰκόνας· εἰσὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖα τε καὶ Ἀπόλλων κτλ.

trios and Ptolemy,¹ intended to represent three new tribes, Antigonis, Demetrias and Ptolemaïs, from which it would appear that the monument had consisted of statues, and that they had been grouped in an artistic arrangement which might be altered by the substitution, but not by the addition, of new figures. It is possible that three of the original statues were merely altered in name and partly in appearance, though Pausanias says that three new ones were sent. In any case we must conclude that the composition of Pheidias had consisted of sixteen statues.² Like Lysander in the Lacedaemonian monument, Miltiades would be a conspicuous figure beside Athena and Apollo. But beyond this there is no means of recognizing the spirit of the composition or the scale of the individual figures.

In a temple at Pellene in Achaia was a gold and ivory statue of Athena of which there is no mention, except in Pausanias, who says that it was the work of Pheidias, and earlier than his statues of the same goddess in Athens and Plataeae. This may be a mere record of date, unusual as that would be, but it may also imply that the powers of the artist had not yet reached their highest development. Under the base

¹ Pausanias, *loc. cit.*, says expressly that these three figures were sent to Delphi, otherwise we might suppose merely that the names of the three older tribes had been changed to those of three new tribes, named after kings Antigonos, Demetrios, and Ptolemy. The words of Pausanias are: Ἀντίγονον δὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα Δημήτριον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Αἰγύπτιον χρόνῳ ὕστερον ἀπέστειλαν ἐς Δελφοὺς. It will be seen from Pausanias (x. 9), that the national monuments of the Tegeans, Lacedaemonians, and Argives, consisted chiefly, like that of the Athenians, of legendary representatives of tribes or districts, with occasionally the introduction of a contemporary or nearly con-

temporary personage such as Miltiades in the Athenian and Lysander in the Lacedaemonian monument.

Two new attic phylae were added by Demetrios Poliorketes, to the ten instituted by Kleisthenes (B.C. 508), and were called Antigonis and Demetrias. Afterwards these two tribes were broken up and another two created in their place, with the names of Ptolemaïs and Attalis (Hermann, Griech. Antiquitäten, 1875, i. p. 694).

² Compare Overbeck, Gr. Plastik, 3rd edit. i. p. 250. I do not understand how Overbeck can make out from this mere record of names in Pausanias, that this work of Pheidias was "überaus sinnlich componirt, &c."

of the statue at Pellene was a chamber, the damp air of which was held to be advantageous to the ivory.¹

The Athena at Plataeae was of wood gilt, having the face, hands and feet of Pentelic marble as a substitute for ivory. It was of colossal size little under that of the bronze Athena on the acropolis of Athens, by which appears to be meant the Athena Promachos, whose epithet would thus correspond with that of "Areia" at Plataeae. Probably Pheidias had presented the same attitude and the same divine type in both. When it is said that this or that statue was made from the spoils of Marathon, the meaning may sometimes have been the spoils of the Persian wars generally, and even in instances where they were actually derived from Marathon, it is hardly possible to believe that the sculptures had been put in hand till after the final overthrow of the great enemy in Greece. This is particularly true of Plataeae. Yet in this case it is necessary to suppose that Pheidias had set to work soon after the decisive battle at Plataeae, if for no other reason than that his older contemporary Polygnotos was employed on the paintings with which the new temple was adorned.² At the feet of the goddess was a portrait statue of Arimnestos, who commanded the Plataeans both at Marathon and against Mardonios at Plataeae.

¹ Pausanias, vii. 27, 1. In the same way water was said to have been used to preserve the ivory of the Athena in the Parthenon, while on the other hand olive oil was used for the same purpose in the temple of Zeus at Olympia (Pausanias, v. 11, 5). Müller, *De Phidiæ Vita et Operibus* (1827), p. 18, regards this Athena at Pellene as the oldest of the known works of Pheidias.

² Pausanias, ix. 4, 1, says that the new temple was made from the spoils of Marathon. But the state of Plataeae was such during the Persian wars, that it is not till

the overthrow of Mardonios, that we can suppose any new buildings or new sculptures to have been executed there. Plutarch, Aristides, 20, speaks of 80 talents having fallen to the share of the Plataeans, from which they erected the new temple and had it decorated with paintings. Michaelis, *Mittheil. d. Inst. in Athen.* ii. p. 90, contends that the temple of Plataeae was of an ordinary size such as the Theseion of Athens, and from this he calculates for the statue and base a height of about six metres = about 20 feet.

A similar argument may be used with regard to the bronze statue of Athena on the acropolis of Athens, as to which also it is said that it was made from the spoils of Marathon.¹ But in the meantime the Persians had destroyed the acropolis, and it is therefore obvious that the statue in question had at least not been placed till sometime after the battle of Salamis. The probability is that it was the subsequent influence of Kimon which preserved the glory of Marathon, notwithstanding its eclipse by that of Salamis, and led to its being commemorated in public monuments, among others, by this statue of Athena.² The statue would thus rank as one of the comparatively early works of Pheidias. The statement that the shield of the goddess was in the next generation ornamented with a battle of Centaurs and Lapiths chased on it by the artist Mys from designs by the painter Parrhasios,³ does not imply that the statue had been left incomplete by Pheidias. It shows only that

¹ Pausanias, i. 28, 2. Müller, *De Phidiae Vita et Operibus* (1827) p. 19, argues from the great number of monuments said to have been made from the spoils of Marathon, that perhaps few of them were executed till after the conclusion of the Persian wars. Éméric David came to the same conclusion in his *Hist. de la Sculpt. Ant.* p. 130. Compare also Michaelis, *Mittheil. d. Inst. in Athen*, ii. p. 87.

² K. Lange, in an article in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 197, on the Athena Promachos, thinks it improbable that Pheidias had received commissions from Kimon, and doubtless the general tenour of the friendship of the artist with Perikles might seem to preclude his having previously worked for his older rival. But it is extremely unlikely that Perikles would have disregarded a great artist because he had worked for Kimon, even if

there were proof that while doing so he had shared the political opinions of his patron. Of that there is no evidence.

Lange argues that of the two statues, the Parthenos and the Promachos, the former was first designed or modelled, but that from the necessary slowness of its execution, it was not finished till after the bronze Promachos, which accordingly passed as the older of the two. That is possible, but the burden of the evidence is in favour of regarding the bronze as the older of the two.

Müller, *De Phid. Vit. et Oper.* (1827) p. 22, believes that the Promachos was among the latest of the works of Pheidias, on the ground that it was, as he says, left incomplete. No doubt designs were added to the shield, but the statue was not therefore left incomplete.

³ Pausanias, i. 28, 2.

the rich decoration of the shield of his Athena Parthenos had rendered the Athenians dissatisfied with the unadorned shield of the Promachos.¹ The site of this statue, as it may still be traced on the acropolis, shows that its base had ranged parallel, not with the present entrance of the Propylaea, but with the older entrance, the remains of which are still visible.² The statue had in fact originally faced the visitor as he ascended between what is now the temple of Victory, and the south wing of the Propylaea, in which case the epithet of "cliduchus," equivalent to "gate-keeper," would well apply to her.³ But whether it was truer under the old than under the new arrangement, that the crest of her helmet and the point of her spear could be seen on ships approaching from Sunium must remain an uncertainty till the actual height of the statue is ascertained. It is known only to have been of bronze and colossal, but not much larger than the Athena at

¹ The admiration in which the shield of the Parthenos was held, may be judged for example by the fact, that two artists Timokles and Timarchides, who made a bronze statue of Athena for Elateia, copied on her shield the design on the shield of Athena Parthenos at Athens (Pausanias, x. 34, 4). It is true that Pausanias describes this statue as if he were comparing it rather with the Promachos (ἔστι δὲ ἐσκευασμένον ὡς ἐς μάχην), though he expressly says, the shield of the Parthenos. At any rate it is interesting to find that he calls the statue at Elateia "archaic," a statement which is clearly in favour of our regarding its Athenian prototype—the Promachos—as being an early work of Pheidias.

² K. Lange, Arch. Zeit. 1881, p. 200. Compare the map of the acropolis given by Michaelis in his edition of Jahn's Pausaniæ Descriptio Arcis Athenarum,

Michaelis, Mittheil. d. Inst. in Athen, ii. p. 87, identifies the site of the statue. It is Pausanias, i. 28, 2, who says that her crest, and the top of her spear were visible on board ship coming from Sunium. To have been seen from Sunium itself would mean that she was seen over the Parthenon, which intercepts that view—but that is not what Pausanias says. Compare Overbeck, Gr. Plastik, 3rd ed. i. p. 251.

³ It is generally supposed that the Cliduchus of Pliny (xxxiv. 54) was the Promachos. It is a poetic expression no doubt when Aristophanes makes the chorus in the Thesmoph. v. 1140, address Athena as

ἡ πόλιν ἡμετέραν ἔχει
καὶ κράτος φανερόν μόνῃ
κληδοῦχος τε καλεῖται.

Preller, Arch. Zeit. 1846, p. 263, believes that the Cliduchus was a statue of a Priestess.



1

2

Engr. Murray. Altemarle Press.

Bronze Statuettes.

1. Athena from Athens.

2. Poseidon from Paramythia.

Plataeae which stood within a temple of apparently an average size. Even the attitude is a matter of doubt. Yet the epithet of "Promachos," though perhaps not applied to it in the best times, suggests a comparison with a bronze statuette in the British Museum found some years ago in Athens (Pl. X.). There Athena steps forward in the attitude of a combatant, the spear raised in her right hand, her left arm bent in the position of holding a shield which unfortunately is lost.¹ In so small a work it could not be expected that the style of the original would be preserved. At the same time there is nothing in the statuette which is not perfectly consistent with a model from the hand of Pheidias.

There existed on the north side of the acropolis, apparently near to the Propylaea, a third statue of Athena by Pheidias, known as "the Lemnian" from its having been made at the cost of the people of Lemnos; known also, it would seem, as "the beauty," such was the charm of her face, at least to later writers who found a confirmation of their judgment in the circumstance that the artist had put his name to the statue.² Here again there is no clue to the date, unless the placing of this statue in Athens had been associated with the taking of Lemnos by Miltiades³ and had been

¹ This statuette was engraved for my article on classical archæology in the 9th edit. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, fig. 5. K. Lange, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 200, apparently unacquainted with this figure, chooses for the Promachos the figure on a Roman brass coin, on which the goddess is in an attitude of repose, with the shield raised on her left arm and the spear resting on the ground. He is so far right as compared with those who would make her shield resting on the ground on its edge at her side.

² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 54; Lucian, *De Imagin.* 4 and 6.

Possibly it is with reference to this statue, that Aristophanes in the "Peace," v. 617, makes Trygæus say, after hearing that Pheidias had had something to do with Eirene, "I now understand why she is so fair of face" (*εὐπρόσωπος*). Pausanias, i. 28, 2, says that of the works of Pheidias this statue was the most worthy of being seen.

³ The capture of Lemnos by Miltiades was an extremely interesting event in the Athenian annals (Herodotus, vi. 137—140). Éméric David, *Hist. de la Sculpt.* Ant. p. 132, places the erection of the 'Lemnian,' soon after B.C. 464. There appears to be no doubt that

suggested by his son Kimon, possibly after his own annexation of the island of Thasos, B.C. 464/3. Nor from the vague phrases of ancient writers can any notion be formed of its style. From the concentration of their remarks on the beauty of her face, it may be inferred that she had not worn her helmet, but had probably rather held it in her right hand as in a terracotta statuette from Cyprus (Pl. XVII.), and in other representations of Athena where she is clearly associated with the acropolis: for example on two vases in the British Museum.¹

We have thus had already four statues of Athena by Pheidias. Eight altogether have been reckoned to him, and though for some of them the evidence is slight enough, the fact remains that she was a goddess whom he had, so to speak, appropriated to himself. Not that among the goddesses he confined himself to her. For there is a mention of an Aphrodite by him in Athens and another in Elis, both of them representing the purer Aphrodite styled Urania as opposed to the more sensual goddess known as Pandemos. The difference may be described as that between a draped and a more or less undraped Aphrodite. The statue in Elis was of gold and ivory, and for this combination of materials very ample drapery may be said to have been indispensable, at all events in the time of Pheidias. Wherever flesh appeared, ivory had to be used, and any large expanse of such material would have contributed to reduce if not to destroy its natural effect. One foot of the statue was raised on a

she was the statue known as "the beauty." See Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 182; Ronchaud, *Phidias*, p. 83; Preller, *Arch. Zeit.* 1846, p. 264. The terra-cotta from Cyprus, now in the British Museum, was found at Salamis and is engraved in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, ii. pl. 16, with an article by Prof. Gardner, p. 326; and in

the *Mittheilungen d. Inst. in Athen*, vi. p. 250.

¹ On one of these vases (*Annali dell' Inst.* 1879, pl. F.) she is present at the birth of Erichthonios: on the other she is among the gods of Athens who look on as Hippolytos drives away from his home.

tortoise, and by this action a gentle movement would be obtained in the folds of the skirt.¹ Beyond this, we have no information. The Aphrodite at Athens was of Parian marble, while a third statue of her spoken of as having been seen in Rome in later times, was also of marble. But in the absence of more precise information, it will be justifiable to class this and the other statues in Rome mentioned by Pliny as having been from the hand of Pheidias in the list of uncertain if not very doubtful works. This list includes outside of Rome,² an Apollo Parnopios in front of the Parthenon, an Athena made in a competition with Alkamenes to which reference has already been made, a marble statue of Zeus in Constantinople, a Hera and a Herakles cleaning the Augean stable, both apparently of bronze.³ A marble statue of Hermes at Thebes is expressly attested by Pausanias,⁴ but without any further observation than that there was a companion statue of Athena by Skopas. Nor in regard to his statue of a wounded Amazon leaning on her spear

¹ Pausanias, vi. 25, 1, is our authority for the Elis statue, as to which Plutarch also remarks, *Conjug. Præcept.* 32, that the tortoise was to women a symbol of silence. Of the Aphrodite in Athens, Pausanias, i. 14, 7, says it was λίθου Παρίου καὶ ἔργον Φειδίου. It is Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 15, who mentions the marble Aphrodite in Rome. An Aphrodite Urania, that is, draped with chiton and himation, seated on a globe with her right hand resting on a sceptre from which hang fillets, occurs on a silver coin of Uranopolis (*Brit. Mus. catalogue of Greek coins—Macedonia*, p. 133.)

² Among the works which Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 54) saw in Rome and ascribed to Pheidias were (a.) an Athena which Aemilius Paulus dedicated in the temple of Fortune; (b.) two statues of draped

figures which Catulus placed in the same temple; (c.) a colossal nude figure. All these were of bronze. But the statement of Pliny is too vague and uncorroborated to be of any use. As is well known, one of the two colossal marble statues of the Dioscuri on the Monte Cavallo in Rome bears the inscription *opus Phidiæ*. In the attitude it resembles a group in the west frieze of the Parthenon. But beyond this there seems to be no reason for connecting it with him. Both statues are Roman copies. See Frederichs, *Bausteine*, Nos. 104-105.

³ The references to these figures are given conveniently in Overbeck's *Ant. Schriftquellen*, Nos. 770-774. For the site of the Apollo Parnopios, see Michaelis in the *Mittheilungen d. Inst. in Athen*, ii. p. 2.

⁴ ix. 10, 2.

is there anything to be added here to what we have already stated when speaking of Polykleitos, whose statue, it will be remembered, is said to have gained the prize over that of Pheidias.¹

There remain now to be considered the two most celebrated works of Pheidias, the Athena of the Parthenon, and the Zeus at Olympia, both of them made of gold and ivory, and each placed within a temple which, from its construction, was peculiarly favourable to brilliancy of effect. It is not necessary to imagine a settled gloom surrounding these statues with the brightness of their materials flashing through it. But the ordinary conditions of climate in Greece rendered it indispensable to have at least a cool shade in the temple.² It was no question of the glitter of pure gold or the shimmer of polished ivory. The ivory was toned down by staining, and broken up by the colours used to indicate eyes, lips, and other features. The gold, at all events on the Zeus at Olympia, was variegated with designs of figures and flowers, worked probably in enamelled colours.³ On the Athena the gold was removable in case the service of the state should require it, and for this reason, together with the silence of ancient writers to the contrary, we may perhaps conclude that it was not similarly enriched. Further, it may be argued that the heavy masses of more or less

¹ Greek Sculpture before Pheidias, p. 276: see also Ronchaud, Phidias, p. 187, fol.

² On the lighting of Greek temples, see Quatremère de Quincy, Jupiter Olympien, p. 263. He adopts (p. 265) the hypæthral system. A remarkable modification of this system is introduced by Mr. Fergusson's theory of a clere-story by means of which the statue, while protected from the weather, would receive an indirect light calculated to enhance its effect. This theory is briefly indicated by

him in the Antiquities of Ionia, pt. 4 (1881) of the Dilettanti Society, p. 8-9, and since then fully explained in a special work entitled "The Parthenon."

³ Strabo, viii. p. 354, says that Panaenos, the nephew of Pheidias, worked with him on the Zeus: *πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ξοάνου διὰ τῶν χρωμάτων κόσμησιν καὶ μάλιστα τῆς ἐσθῆτος*. Compare Quatremère de Quincy, Jup. Olymp. p. 310, who concludes that some process similar to our enamelling was employed.

parallel folds into which her dress fell would be less benefited or might even lose by being enriched as was the dress of the Zeus at Olympia. Yet we need not assume the alternative of a bright glittering surface throughout her drapery. Much could be done by simple contrasts of polished and deadened surfaces.

The gold employed on the Athena was estimated variously, at 40, 44, and 50 talents.¹ These sums, if they represent merely the value of the gold, would amount to nearly £10,000, or £12,000. But if, as is perhaps more probable, they represent its weight, they would reach to 2250 lbs. or 2850 lbs. of gold. The process of executing such a statue may be gathered from what is told of the Zeus at Megara on which Pheidias is said to have assisted Theokosmos. Of this statue Pausanias observes²: "the face was of gold and ivory, the rest of the figure of clay and gypsum behind the temple lay half finished pieces of wood. These Theokosmos intended to adorn with gold and ivory and so complete the statue." It would thus appear that the process was first to model and set up the figure in clay, then to replace the clay by a figure of wood on which a surface of gold and ivory was attached. In this way the removal of the gold on the Athena, should it have been necessary, would still have left a passable statue of her.³ The height of the Athena

¹ Diodor. Sicul. xii. 40, gives 50 talents; Thucydides, ii. 13, says 40 talents. The scholiast of Aristophanes, Pax, 605, says 44 talents. The restoration of the Athena made by M. Simart under the direction and at the expense of the Duc de Luynes, cost 500,000 francs, and about six years of the artist's work, (Ronchaud, Phidias, p. 104). This statue was on view at the Exhibition at Paris in 1855.

The value of an Attic talent is calculated at £241 13s. 4d. (Boeckh's Economy of Athens, Eng. Transl. i. p. 25).

² i. 40, 3.

³ It is said that Lachares (B.C. 297) plundered the gold of the Athena (Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, Nos. 685-687) and Pausanias himself (i. 25, 5) speaks of Lachares having carried off τὸν περιαιρετὸν κόσμον of the goddess. Yet he describes the statue as if nothing were missing from it in his time. As an intermediate restoration is hardly to be thought of, we may conclude that Lachares had only carried off some of the smaller and more or less detached parts, (see Overbeck, Gr. Plastik, 3rd ed. i. p. 256.)

is given by Pliny¹ as 26 cubits; but this can only serve as an approximate dimension, since it is uncertain whether it includes the base. According to general testimony the face, hands, and feet were of ivory, the rest being of gold. But beyond this there are several points of detail to be noticed. Plato,² for example, says that the pupils of the eyes were of stone, such as harmonised with the ivory, and therefore not bright precious stones as might be supposed, most probably a chalcedony. Again, the face of Medusa on her ægis was of ivory,³ possibly with gold eyes as in the case of a small ivory mask of Medusa in the British Museum. Her spear may have been of cane tipped with bronze, or it may have had a gold shaft. A combination of bronze and gold is suggested by the natural colours of the serpent. Unusual interest attaches to her shield and the material of which it was made. A shield of ivory with reliefs in gold fastened to the outer surface would be a natural surmise, perhaps more natural than reliefs of ivory on gold.⁴ What is certain is that the mask of Medusa on the centre of it was of gilded silver. The reliefs on the base of the statue were a combination of gold and ivory,⁵ while her helmet appears to

if indeed the report is not altogether unfounded.

¹ Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 18.

² Hipp. Maj. p. 290 B; Ronchaud, Phidias, p. 114, proposes a kind of agate.

³ Quatremère de Quincy, Jup. Olymp. p. 235, and for the spear and serpent, p. 243. Ampelius, Liber Memor. 8, says she had a spear made of a reed (hastam de gramine). Wustmann, (Rhein. Mus. 1867, p. 131) in support of this, cites a reference to Cicero, (Verr. iv. 56, 125) where he speaks of gramineas hastas in connection with the plundering of the temple of Athena at Syracuse. Pliny also speaks of reeds or canes being used for spears (N. Hist. xvi. 65).

⁴ Köhler, Mittheilungen d. Inst. in Athen, v. p. 97, den Schild kann man so denken dass die Kampfszenen in Elfenbein gebildet oder (was aber weniger wahrscheinlich ist) in mattem Silber ciselirt waren. This article of Köhler's is of the greatest interest for the statue of the Parthenos. On the question as to the position of the statue within the temple see also Dorpfeld in the Mittheilungen, 1881, p. 298.

⁵ Köhler, *loc. cit.* p. 96, quotes a fragment of a list of the treasures of the Parthenon: γοργόνειον χρυσούν ὑπάρχον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσπίδος. The material of the basis he describes at p. 98—the helmet he thinks was of bronze gilt.

have been of gilded bronze. The Nike in her hand wore a gold wreath, four of the leaves of which are recorded in an inscription to have fallen off and been separately preserved.

Ancient records and reproductions¹ convey the general effect of a colossal statue standing so as to meet the spectator with a full front view as he enters the temple. She rests her weight on the right leg, with the left a little bent forward, relieving by a variety of folds the heavy lines of her long simple chiton which fall down in front of the right leg. Her right arm is extended in front from the elbow, and on the palm, open upwards, stands a figure of Victory, four cubits high, wearing a wreath, and carrying a *tænia* or victor's diadem hanging in a festoon from one hand to the other. Seen from the front this figure of Victory stands nearly in profile. The left arm of Athena falls by her side, the hand resting on the top of her shield, which stands on its edge on

¹ The fullest description is that of Pausanias, i. 24, 5. A large number of other references in ancient literature are collected in Overbeck's *Ant. Schriftquellen*, Nos. 645-679.

The principal ancient reproductions are: (a.) a marble statuette found west of the Pnyx at Athens (Michaelis, pl. 15, No. 1 and p. 273); (b.) a marble statue of much larger dimensions than the last, also found at Athens near the Varvakion in 1880 (*Mittheilungen d. Inst. in Athen*, v. p. 370 and vi. p. 56, pls. 1-2; cf. *Bullet. de Corresp. Hellén.* 1881, p. 54); (c.) a marble copy of the shield, also from Athens, now in the British Museum (engraved in Conze's *Athens-Statue des Phidias im Parthenon*, 1865; Michaelis, p. 15, Nos. 34-35).

Copies of the head of this statue are not infrequent on ancient cameos. I may mention in particular one in the British Museum

from the Woodhouse collection, the helmet of which in the main agrees with that of the larger statuette in Athens. In both we have the three crests, as I have described them in the text. But the cameo is more minute in some points. It gives a gryphon on the cheek-piece, and when Pausanias mentions this creature as being on the helmet it need not be supposed that he had confounded with it the Pegasus which is also there though not mentioned by him. This and some other cameos give a row of horses springing forward from the brow of the helmet. At present we have no confirmation of such a thing in sculpture, but the recurrence of it also on later tetradrachms of Athens as well on a silver coin of Pella (*Brit. Mus. catalogue of Greek coins, Macedonia*, p. 89, No. 2) suggests that it was a feature of the original.

the ground and is seen in perspective ; in her hand is also a spear resting on the ground. On the hollow side of the shield was the war of Gods and Giants, and between the shield and her foot was her serpent partly coiled and with head erect. On her breast is the ægis with its border of snakes and its centre adorned with the mask of Medusa. On her head is a helmet with a high crest rising above a couchant sphinx on the centre ; at each side a smaller crest rising above a Pegasus. The cheek-pieces of the helmet were turned up and decorated each apparently with the figure of a gryphon. On the outside of her shield was the design of a battle between Greeks and Amazons surrounding a mask of Medusa in the centre. Her sandals had thick soles, on the edges of which were combats of Centaurs and Lapiths. On the base was represented the creation of the first woman, Pandora, as many as twenty deities being present. Those skilled to judge, it was said, admired most, the Victory, the serpent, and the sphinx.¹

Of all this only the outline of the base remains. It was oblong² in form, and the bulk of it no doubt consisted of blocks of marble, on to which, probably, the reliefs were affixed. The unity of the design would preclude its extending to the sides or back of the base. But marble can be polished to a surface closely resembling that of ivory, and it is difficult to believe that the artist had not, so to speak, made a virtue of necessity

¹ Pliny, xxxvi. 18.

² In breadth as to depth it was as 2:1, according to Dörpfeld in the *Mittheilungen d. Inst. in Athen*, 1881, p. 294, who there gives the results of a very careful examination of the interior of the Parthenon, comparing it with the interior of the Zeus temple at Olympia in certain striking effects. This great frontage of the base of Athena as compared with its depth is accounted

for by the fact that the shield and serpent on one side of the goddess and the pillar and Victory on the other demanded an extended frontage, while there was no occasion for unusual depth. The proportions of the base of Zeus at Olympia were, frontage as to depth as 2:3, the natural form of the throne on which he sat requiring these proportions.

by polishing it to this extent in places where there were no reliefs. The subject of these reliefs, the birth of Pandora, was obviously appropriate, since it tended to the glory of Athena. But when we remember that on the base of the Zeus at Olympia was a similar subject, the birth of Aphrodite, the details of which we know, it is hardly possible to avoid the thought that Pheidias had been governed in both cases by a sense of the peculiar fitness of an oblong space on the level of the eye for a design in which the action, instead of culminating towards the centre, diverges from it, the central group being a source of interest not of active interference to the other persons assembled. The creation of Pandora, as painted on a vase in the British Museum, extends along a narrow band and includes figures of Iris, Zeus, Poseidon, Athena, Pandora, Ares, Hermes and Hera.

A peculiar interest attaches to the marble copy of the shield of Athena now in the British Museum, from the fact of its corroborating, with slight modifications, the statement of Plutarch¹ that Pheidias had introduced among the Greeks fighting with Amazons on it portraits of himself as a bald-headed old man, and of Perikles with his arm so raised as to conceal part of his face. If there was concealment in one case, it may be presumed that there was the same reason for concealment in the other, and on this account, we may well hesitate to accept the figure on the shield as a portrait of Pheidias. Besides, the copyist has evidently made the most of it, knowing the interest which belonged to this figure of the artist. The story was, that for the crime of introducing these portraits on the shield, Pheidias was thrown into prison and died there. Yet the obnoxious portraits remained, and to account for this it was further told that they had been so fitted into the shield as not to be removable without bringing about a collapse of

¹ Vit. Pericl. 31. At 13, after saying that Pheidias made the gold statue of the goddess, Plutarch adds,

καὶ τοῦτον δημιουργὸς ἐν τῇ στήλῃ εἶναι γέγραπται. But what he here means by the *stèle* is uncertain.

the whole statue. Again it was necessary to explain why Pheidias had ever thought of portraits. It was because he was not permitted to inscribe his name on the statue as he afterwards did at Olympia. In their simplicity the inventors of this tale had not considered that in ordinary circumstances there would have been no question of inscribing the artist's name till after the reliefs on the shield had been finished. Pausanias, who describes the statue, not only makes no mention of those portraits, but in another place expressly cites a figure by Pheidias as being, to his knowledge, the only example of portraiture by him.¹ An inexplicable difficulty therefore surrounds the existing copy of the shield.

In the larger of the two copies of the statue found at Athens, the right hand of Athena holding out the figure of Victory is supported on a round pillar, which, it is argued, would have been necessary in the original for the sake of strength. For this purpose no such support was required in the copy. Yet in the original it need not have been a pillar. The stem of a tree would have been more consistent with artistic traditions, and the stem of an olive would have been specially appropriate to Athena. I do not suggest that it was an olive-tree altogether, with the Victory appearing to descend from its branches, as she is not seldom represented, though that is perhaps not impossible. On a Lycian coin exhibiting a copy of this statue, and confidently assigned to before the time of Alexander the Great, the support of Athena's right hand is formed by a stem, apparently of an olive tree (Pl. XI.).²

¹ It is true that Pausanias himself mentions a figure of Miltiades in the group at Delphi by Pheidias already described. But it is clear that he there regards Miltiades in the same light as the ancestral heroes of the Athenians among whom he was there placed. It is in regard to the figure of Pantarkes

at Olympia, that he makes the remark here referred to. Elsewhere (i. 17, 2.) he shows that he had noticed the design on the shield to be a battle between Amazons and Athenians.

² Published in Gardner's *Types of Greek coins*, pl. 10. No. 28, p. 170.

The attitude of the Zeus at Olympia was that of a god seated on his throne. Literally his presence filled the temple. It was said that he could not stand up without carrying the roof with him. He must therefore have been placed on a low base, since with a high one he would naturally be supposed to step down, and there would thus have been no occasion for the remark concerning the roof.¹ The face, hands, and wherever flesh appeared were of ivory,² the rest was of gold, the dress in particular being richly enamelled with figures and flowers in various colours. The beard and hair we suppose to have been of gold. The ivory would be tinted to soften its whiteness, except perhaps in the eyes, where its natural colour might be of advantage. The pupils, if not of precious stones, may have been of ebony.³ On his head was an olive wreath. His right hand held a figure of Victory, she also wearing a wreath, probably of laurel, and holding as did the Victory in the hand of the Athena, a taenia, or victor's diadem. In his left hand was a sceptre glittering with all kinds of metals, and surmounted by an eagle. His sandals were of gold. His himation, also of gold, was enriched with a design of figures and lilies. There is no mention of any other garment, but even with the himation thrown over the left shoulder and falling in front of the left side,

¹ Strabo, viii. p. 353, is the authority for this statement about the size of the statue. The general description which here follows is from Pausanias, v. 11, 1. The height of the temple to the top of the pediments was 68 feet, its breadth 95 feet, as given by Pausanias, v. 10, 2. The measurements of Pausanias are proved to have been on the whole very exact (Ausgrabungen, iii. p. 26).

² Lucian, *De Sacrific.* 11, says: "those who enter the temple (of Zeus at Olympia) see not ivory from India, and gold from Thrace, but the real son of Kronos and

Rhea, translated to the earth by Pheidias and ordered to preside over the Pisan waste, thankful if anyone sacrifice to him in the course of five years on the occasion of the Olympian games."

³ Among Assyrian antiquities we find for example an eye of ivory with pupil inlaid with ebony: so also we find a face of ivory to which a beard and hair have been added in metal, probably gold, to complete the head. The staining of ivory was an occupation of the Carians as early as Homeric times.

there would still remain a vast expanse of his body to be shown in ivory, unless we assume him to have worn also a thin chiton of gold.¹ So much ivory could hardly have failed to injure the expressiveness of the face, as compared with that of the Athena, which came into immediate contrast with the gold of her drapery.

The throne was enriched with gold, stones, ebony, and ivory, and with designs sculptured upon it. On the top rail and reaching higher than the head of the god were the three Graces, and three Seasons, apparently disposed in two groups, each visible beyond his head. They must be regarded as figures in the round surmounting the rail. The legs of the throne, four in number, were each composed of two parts, and appear to have been cylindrical. On the upper part were four Victories in the attitude of dancers, by which seems to be meant that they were represented in relief dancing hand in hand round the surface.² On the lower part were other two Victories. On the top of each of the two front legs of the throne, that is to say, connecting the leg with the front of the side rail, was a group of a sphinx tearing the body of a Theban youth.³ The sphinx would be

¹ The two coins of Elis published in Overbeck's *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. i. p. 258, both represent Zeus draped over the shoulders. The one, a coin in Florence, may show merely the himation over the left shoulder as usual; but the other, a coin in Berlin, appears to have drapery over both the shoulders. And it is not impossible to imagine the himation so arranged over both shoulders as to fall in large masses in front, and thus meet one objection to a large expanse of ivory on the front of the body. Overbeck, *loc. cit.*, has doubts about the value of the Berlin coin as evidence of Zeus having worn a chiton, or been so richly draped as he there appears, the coin being in bad condition.

² Compare a cylindrical marble fragment in the British Museum, with four female figures in relief dancing round it in the manner here indicated (*Museum Marbles*, ix. pl. 40, fig. 1.) Mr. Lloyd, *Age of Pericles*, ii. p. 262, thinks that the Graces were on one side of the top rail, the Seasons on the other. But there is not the slightest indication of ornament on the back of the throne. Nor do the words of Pausanias in any way convey this meaning.

³ This subject occurs frequently in reliefs; as in two terra-cottas in the British Museum, and in Schoene's *Griech. Reliefs*, pl. 30, but there naturally the figure of the youth lies lengthwise under the body of the sphinx, not crosswise in front of her.

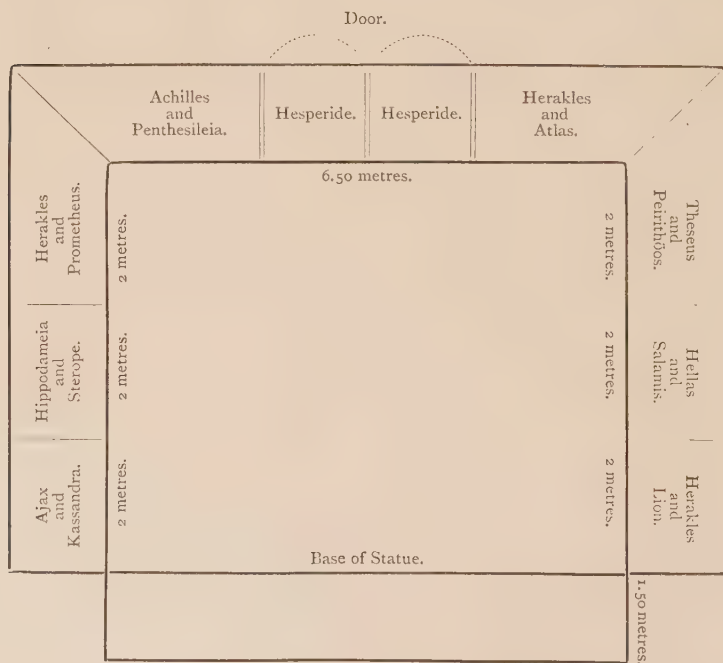
placed, as on the throne of Zeus on the Parthenon frieze, facing the front, and the body of the youth would perhaps lie at a right angle to her. At a lower level, apparently along the sides of the seat, were Apollo and Artemis slaying the children of Niobe. The legs of the throne were connected together by four rails, on the front one of which there had originally been eight figures; but one of them had disappeared unaccountably by the time of Pausanias. They represented the athletic contests at Olympia, one of the figures, in the act of binding a diadem on his head, being that of Pantarkes, an Eleian youth who had won a prize in the 86th Olympiad, and whom Pheidias loved.¹ Whether in relief or detached, these figures would be arranged in fours, so as to be visible at each side of the legs of Zeus. On the two connecting rails at the sides, were combats of Greeks led by Herakles and Theseus against the Amazons, being, doubtless, much the same design as we shall find afterwards on the footstool. On a larger scale it occurs on the frieze of Phigaleia. In all there were 29 figures. The throne was supported also by pillars underneath it. To prevent too close an approach to the statue, there was a stucco barrier, which at the sides connected four columns of the interior of the temple, and in the front ran across the cella.² Within this enclosure and

¹ A statue of Pantarkes at Olympia, is mentioned by Pausanias, vi. 10, 2, and the love of Pheidias for him is there again recorded, as well as in several late writers (Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, Nos. 740-743) who speak of his having inscribed the name of this youth on the finger or finger-ring of Zeus. It was probably while Pheidias was at work at Olympia, that Pantarkes won the prize, and drew his attention. That was in the year B.C. 436, that is, two years after the Athena was finished.

² Quatremère de Quincy, *Jup.*

Olymp., gives as a frontispiece, what in many respects is a beautiful restoration of the statue. It is true that the enclosing wall, as he gives it, is much nearer to the statue than the excavations at Olympia (see plan in *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, iii. pl. 31, and v. pl. 31-32) have shown it to have been. Yet in principle he was right, where so many have been wrong since his time in their explanations of this enclosure. Compare, for example, the 3rd edit. of Overbeck's *Gr. Plastik*, i. p. 260; Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 352; or

in front of the statue was a large circular basin made in the floor for the olive oil required to preserve the ivory from the local dampness.¹ The outer face of this enclosure was painted a blue colour. Round the three sides of the interior, that is to say, facing the statue, were designs painted by Panaenos. These pictures, as described by Pausanias, formed a series of nine subjects, and of these we may appropriate six for the two side barriers, each of which is divided into three spaces by the columns that connect it. In the middle of the front barrier there appears to have been a doorway which again would have the effect of dividing the whole into three spaces. I propose the following arrangement of these pictures :



Mr. Watkiss Lloyd's *Age of Pericles*, ii. p. 266. On the other hand, Ronchoud, *Phidias*, p. 138, rightly follows Quatremère.

¹ The words of Pausanias, v. 11, 2, are : *τούτων τῶν ἐρυμάτων ὅσον μὲν*

ἀπαντικρὺ τῶν θυρῶν ἐστὶν ἀλήλιπται κυανῷ μόνον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν παρέχεται Παναίων γραφάς. It is clear from the excavations at Olympia, that these pictures could not have been on the outer face of the

It will be seen that these groups consist each of two closely associated figures, such as we find characteristic of metopes, and the natural conclusion is that the spaces on which they were painted presented the same relative dimensions as a metope. But at present the height of the barrier has not been ascertained.

At this point Pausanias returns to the statue itself. The footstool rested on golden lions, and on it was sculptured the battle in which Theseus led the Athenians against the Amazons. Under the feet, that is probably along the upper edge of the footstool, was the inscription.¹ On the front of the base were attached works in gold

representing in the centre Aphrodite rising from the sea and being received by Eros and crowned by Peitho. Next to this group on the left were Hermes and Hestia, Hephaestos and Charis, Zeus and Hera, and finally Helios stepping into his chariot. Next to the



Fig. 9.—Aphrodite received by Eros.

central group on the right were Apollo and Artemis, Athena and Herakles, Amphitrite and Poseidon, and

enclosure, because in the very narrow side-aisles of the cella they could not have been seen. Besides, these aisles were closed to the public by doors at the fronts. I suppose the outer face of the enclosure, both on the front and on the sides, to have been blue.

With regard to the arrangement of the pictures, I have followed the order of Pausanias, but by making him begin with "Herakles and Atlas," immediately to his left on entering the door of the enclosure, and end with the "Two Hesperides" on the door itself, I have obtained a series of three compositions, in each of which the central place is occupied by two female figures in attitudes of repose, while around

them is chiefly contest, and I venture to think that this yields an important artistic advantage, as compared with the arrangements adopted, for example, by Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 359; Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 172; or Mr. Watkiss Lloyd, *Age of Pericles*, ii. p. 266. Under my arrangement we can understand also why Pausanias mentioned Achilles and Penthesileia as the "last" group and yet immediately adds "and two Hesperides," these latter having been on the door and not noticed at first, or at all events treated as a separate item.

¹ Pausanias, v. 10, 2. It ran: *Φειδίας Χαρμίδου υἱὸς Ἀθηναῖος μ' ἐποίησε.*

finally, Selene driving her horse. The specific importance of the birth of Aphrodite is here intimated by the grouping of the deities male and female ; its universal importance, by the fact that Helios and Selene bound the scene. Aphrodite rising from the sea with Eros and Peitho stooping towards her on each side¹ would be the least conspicuous of all the groups, were it not that the others are so evidently graduated in importance towards each extremity, as first to withdraw the eye from the centre of the composition and ultimately to attract it in that direction. We have thus a clearly indicated manner of representing an oblong composition on the level of the eye, as compared with that of a pediment, where the importance of the figures diminishes towards the extremities. Probably the base was of polished marble, with this design worked in gold attached to the front of it and occupying a considerable part of its height, since it was, as we have seen, a comparatively low base. The height of the statue is given so variously by ancient writers that no definite measurement can at the moment be assigned to it.

When his task was finished, Pheidias, as tradition says, prayed to Zeus for a sign of his favour, and instantly a thunderbolt struck the pavement of the temple. It would seem, however, from another report, that during the progress of the work he had taken the opinion of ordinary mortals, and in deference to it had made several alterations.² Nothing is more improbable. Not that there may not have been many changes between the original model of the statue, as set up in the

¹ A small silver relief (fig. 9), with Aphrodite rising from the sea and being received by Eros, is engraved from the *Gazette Archéologique*, 1879, pl. 19, fig. 2.

² Lucian, *Pro Imag.* 14, says that when the work was first shown, Pheidias placed himself so as to hear the criticisms of praise and

blame ; how one thought the nose too thick, another the face too long, &c. When the spectators had gone, he set himself to correct the figure to suit the most prevalent opinion, believing that the judgment of many was better than that of one, even if he were a Pheidias.

temple, and the finished work. The various parts of it were prepared in the workshop of Pheidias, outside the Altis but not far from the temple.¹ From this statement it may be inferred that the workshop was not of sufficient size to contain the entire model, and that probably a smaller and to some extent corrected model was there to work from.²

Passing now to the ideal by which Pheidias had been guided, we are met at the outset with the statement of ancient writers³ to the effect that he had sought to reproduce the image drawn by Homer in the interview between Thetis and Zeus, and especially in the lines of the Iliad, i. 527 :

“He said : and his black eyebrows bent : above his deathless head
The Ambrosian curls flow’d ; great heaven shook.” *Chapman.*

Zeus had immediately before conceded the request of Thetis, and declared his power over all the immortals, Hera included, however much she might rage. “When my head bows all heads bow with it still.” A movement of the head was, he says, “the great sign of my will with all the immortal states.” But while it was enough for the poet, who had previously described the scene and its surroundings, to say that the ultimate expression of power resided in the face of Zeus, to the sculptor a very different problem was presented. He

¹ Pausanias, v. 15, 1, places the workshop, οἶκημα, known as the ἐργαστήριον of Pheidias, outside the Altis, and says that he there made the parts of the statue, καθ’ ἕκαστον τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐνταῦθα εἰργάζετο. Adler, Olympia und Umgegend, p. 22, places it on the site of the Byzantine church south of the Palaestra, and in the Ausgrabungen, iv. p. 31, points out that the measurements of an ancient building there, correspond remarkably with those of the cella of the

Temple of Zeus. Adler then argues that the building had been so made on purpose that Pheidias might test the exact effect of light &c. on his model in his own workshop.

² Μικρὸν μὲν ἐργαστήριον τοῦ Φειδίου, ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ Παρθένος ἐπλάττετο (Himer. Orat. 18, 4, as quoted in Overbeck’s Ant. Schriftquellen, No. 700).

³ See Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, Nos. 698, 705, 710, 725, 726, 728, 729, 730.

could reproduce the whole bodily presence of the god where the poet could not. But the actual scene with its surroundings were beyond his art, while the poet with a happy touch could convey them. The sculptor, therefore, must distribute the divine power throughout his statue, allowing it to culminate in the face, not however concentrating it there, as in later Greek and Roman art, where the notion of what is called a leonine countenance was thought to be the best suited for Jove.¹ An ancient writer,² who seems to exhaust the epithets of praise on the statue, says that Pheidias represented Zeus, not as the powerful god of thunder, but as the giver of all that was good to mankind, the friend, benefactor, and guardian of all those who approached him in their need. Even the sight of his statue in Olympia drove away cares that would yield to nothing else. It is, however, the sculptures of the Parthenon that teach us best what to expect. We expect, above everything else, that reserve of power which is commonly called "repose."³ In this case it was overwhelming might that was expressed in reserve, while indescribable kindness to man suffused the outer aspect of the god. From his seated posture with Victory on his extended right hand, we expect a sense of almost jubilant repose in him, with which the rich decorations of his throne would be in harmony. We look for no aggressive or commanding aspect. A face like that of the marble head found in Milo and now

¹ By some writers, including Brunn (*Gr. Künstler*, I, p. 201), who devotes a very special examination to it, the Otricoli bust of Zeus, as it is called, is regarded as a copy from the head of the statue by Pheidias; Petersen, however, (*Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 382) and Stephani (*Compte-rendu de la Commission Archéologique*, St. Petersburg, 1875, p. 161 fol.) have properly resisted this theory, and the Otricoli head may now be said to be left out of the question. Whether

Stephani is right, in identifying the marble head in St. Petersburg (pl. 6.) as a good copy of the Zeus is another matter. (See Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd Edit. i. p. 466, note 17.) It has obviously much more of a good Greek spirit than the Otricoli bust.

² Dio Chrysostom as quoted in Overbeck's *Ant. Schriftquellen*, No. 712.

³ Compare Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 385.



MARBLE HEAD OF ZEUS FROM MILO (BRITISH MUSEUM).



SILVER COIN OF ELIS (BRITISH MUSEUM).



COIN OF LYCIA (BRITISH MUSEUM.)

in the British Museum, or that on a silver coin of Elis, would in a measure meet our requirements (Pl. XI., figs. 1, 2).¹ For the rest of the figure we must conjure it from all that is most characterised by reserve of power and divine kindness in the sculptures of the Parthenon.

With the completion of the Zeus at Olympia the career of Pheidias closes, but not the history of his influence on his pupils and younger contemporaries. To these we now proceed.

¹ This coin is in the British Museum, and a photograph of it is published by Stephani, *Compte-rendu*, 1876, fig. 5, and by Prof. Gardner in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, N. S. xix. pl. 12, p. 20. I do not see any reason why it should not be a direct copy from the Zeus of Pheidias. The coin of the age of Hadrian is given by Prof. Gardner in pl. 16 of his memoir. Compare Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. i. p., 258 fig. c; but specially Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 386, whose appreciation of the coin is largely mixed with objections to Overbeck for not having been able to see the differences between it and the Otricoli head.

As regards the two coins in question, the copper coin of the age of Hadrian and the silver coin con-

temporary with Pheidias, Prof. Gardner is probably right in concluding that the former is true to the original in the sense of a late copyist striving to be true, while the silver coin is more free, and true rather to the artistic execution than the actual expression of the original. Stephani, however, maintains (*Compte-rendu*, 1876, p. 224) that the silver coin here in question is earlier than the time of Pheidias, and that another silver coin which he publishes (No. 7) is the most accurate of all the reproductions of the head of the Zeus. It is a beautiful coin, but to me it conveys none of that reserve of great power which I find in the other silver coin. With all its beauty, there is a good deal of pretence, as for example in the conspicuousness of the wreath and in the treatment of the hair.

CHAPTER XIX.

PUPILS OF PHEIDIAS—THE SCULPTURES OF OLYMPIA.

Agorakritos of Paros, his relation to Pheidias—his statues of Nemesis and Rhea, group of Athena and Zeus. Kolotes of Paros assisted Pheidias at Olympia—his statues of Asklepios, of Philosophers—reliefs on table at Olympia. Theokosmos of Megara—his statue of Zeus, &c.—Thrasymedes of Paros—statue of Asklepios at Epidauros—Alkamenes—statues of Aphrodite at Athens, Hekate Epipyrgidia, Ares, Dionysos, Hephaestos, Athena, Athlete, Asklepios, group of Athena and Herakles—native place of Alkamenes—Sculptures of west pediment at Olympia attributed to him—characteristics of these sculptures—comparison with Parthenon Metopes—execution—west Metopes of Olympia—east Metopes—uniformity of style in both series—Sculptures of east pediment at Olympia by Paeonios—comparison with west pediment—Statue of Nike by Paeonios—Indebtedness of the sculptors at Olympia to the style of the painter Polygnotos—Metopes of temple of Hera at Selinus. Their relationship to the sculptures at Olympia.

To be a pupil or fellow worker of an illustrious artist is not always of itself a proof of great ability. If the style of the master be novel and perhaps not without tricks of art it can be imitated in a way that will pass, and he may have pupils or fellow-workers at his discretion. But the style of Pheidias was not of this kind, and if he found adequate assistance in men like Alkamenes, Agorakritos, and Kolotes, we must conclude that they were possessed of a genius not unlike his own. Their names, especially the name of Alkamenes, have been handed down with genuine admiration. Meantime it is not clearly known to what extent they were associated with Pheidias. Both Alkamenes and Agorakritos are repeatedly described by ancient writers as his

pupils.¹ This difference, however, is to be observed: Alkamenes is credited with a considerable number of independent works, Agorakritos with very few, and yet he is said to have enjoyed the special favour of the master. If this favour was based on artistic merit, the scarcity of sculptures from the hand of Agorakritos could only be explained by assuming him to have been more or less steadily occupied in the assistance of Pheidias. We can thus understand also the ambiguity which surrounds the authorship of two statues, in particular that of Nemesis at Rhamnus.² Pausanias indeed speaks of it plainly as the work of Pheidias, and, apart from the direct testimony of other writers also, his authority in these matters may be said to be supported by the sense of a master mind which the description of the statue conveys. Other writers, while equally asserting the authorship of Pheidias, say that he allowed Agorakritos to inscribe his name as the sculptor.³ But the mere motive of affection which they assign is obviously insufficient unless we limit the claim of Pheidias to only a share in the authorship, which he may well have yielded to his favourite. The share that would fall naturally to him would be the original conception and planning of the statue, perhaps also supervision during the execution of it. The statue was of marble, a material in the working of which Agorakritos may be supposed to have been thoroughly skilled. He was a native of Paros, an island which supplied the best marble and some of the best sculptors of Greece.

This statue of Nemesis was made from a block of Parian marble which the Persians according to common belief had brought with them to make a trophy on the

¹ Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, Nos. 808, 811, 829, 830, 834.

² The various passages are collected in Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, Nos. 834-843.

³ This inscription is said to have been placed on a small tablet

attached to the apple branch held in the left hand of the goddess (see Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, No. 836). The Greek habit of attaching tablets to the branches of trees renders this tradition so far probable.

capture of Athens. On the head of the goddess was a crown decorated with figures of Victory and of deer. Her aspect is said to have resembled that of Aphrodite,¹ in her left hand an apple branch, in her right a cup or phialè on which were figured Aethiopians. She was without wings. On the base was illustrated that version of the legend which makes Helena the daughter of Nemesis and not of Leda, the latter being only her foster-mother. The central figure was Nemesis herself, towards whom Leda was seen leading Helena. On one side of them apparently, were grouped the kinsmen of Helena in connection with Leda, Tyndareus, Castor and Pollux, and a horseman. On the other side her kinsmen by marriage, Agamemnon, Menelaos, Pyrrhos, Orestes, Epeichos and a youth. This large composition on the base of the statue, together with the enrichment of the crown and the phialè, betrays the inventive power of Pheidias.² Part of a colossal female head in marble was found in the ruins of the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnus and is now in the British Museum.³ Enough remains to testify to the largeness of style characteristic of the Parthenon sculptures, and to suggest the probability of this fragment being part of the famous statue.

¹ ἐν Ἀφροδίτης σχήματι. Suidas and Photius, s. v. Rham. Nemesis. Pliny's account runs (Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 17) that Agorakritos having failed in a competition with Alkamenes in the production of a statue of Aphrodite, sold his statue as a Nemesis to the people of Rhamnus in Attica.

² Kekulé, Festschrift, 1879, p. 26, supposes that Agorakritos may have executed the statue from a model by Pheidias.

³ Leake, *Demi of Attica* II., p. 109, points out the improbability of the Persians having brought with them a block of marble, and having left it behind. We can imagine them bringing a finished trophy. He notes that he saw several

fragments of reliefs found in the ruins of the temple at Rhamnus, and supposes that they may have belonged to the base. As regards the part of a head of the goddess in the British Museum, it may be observed that the holes by which the crown on it had been attached, indicate not only that it was a metal crown, but also that it had been placed round the head nearly horizontally, as is the crown on the head of Hera on silver coins of Elis and Argos. I suppose Nemesis to have worn a stephanos of that shape. On the relation of Nemesis to Hekate, see Petersen in the *Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 1881, p. 25 (sep. copy).

And this again is confirmed by the fact that on this head there has been attached a crown (*stephanos*), probably of gold or of bronze gilt, on which we can imagine the Victories and deer to have been sculptured in relief. Doubtless the *phialè* also with its design of Aethiopians was of gold. The Nemesis at Rhamnus is reckoned among the moon-goddesses allied to Hekate, and the attributes of her statue—the *phialè* and apple branch, the deer and Aethiopians—support that view. It is interesting therefore to observe that Alkamenes, in competition with whom Agorakritos is said to have produced his Nemesis, is known to have been the sculptor of the Hekate Epipyrgidia at Athens. Were it not stated that it was an Aphrodite which was the subject of competition, and that Agorakritos changed his statue into a Nemesis (that is to say, a figure allied to Hekate) we might suppose that Aphrodite is here mentioned in error, that Hekate was the subject of competition, and that Alkamenes was successful, perhaps partly from the novelty and invention of his triple figure. He was the first to make Hekate of triple form. The only Aphrodite he is known to have produced was the Aphrodite “in the Gardens” at Athens, and it appears to have consisted of a head or bust of the goddess ending in a pillar.

Ambiguity again exists with reference to a statue of the goddess Rhea at Athens, one authority ascribing it to Agorakritos, two others to Pheidias. There remains in fact only one piece of sculpture which Agorakritos is allowed to claim for himself, a group of Athena and Zeus at Coroneia.¹ It was of bronze. But there is no record of its merits. Nevertheless the circumstance of his having been so employed may be allowed to establish

¹ Pausanias, ix. 34, 1. Strabo, if it is to this group that he refers (ix. p. 411), makes Zeus into Hades. It has been supposed that the Florence gem (Müller-Wies-

eler, Denkmäler No. 226) with Athena seated opposite Hades, may have been derived from the group of Agorakritos.

the independence of his talent in spite of the popular prejudice which traced to the personal affection of Pheidias, what may have been no more than a master's acknowledgment of great assistance in many cases where it could not be directly acknowledged.¹

Kolotes, also, as it would seem, a native of Paros,² but not a pupil of Pheidias, was engaged with him on the Zeus at Olympia, at the same time executing several sculptures in the neighbourhood, including a highly praised ivory statue of Asklepios at Kyllene, statues of Philosophers at Olympia, and a series of reliefs on a gold and ivory table in the temple of Hera at Olympia. So far the great name of Pheidias does not overshadow him. But when we come to the mention of a gold and ivory statue of Athena at Elis we find doubts as to whether it was the work of Pheidias or of Kolotes. The temptation here, as in the case of Agorakritos, is to suppose that Pheidias may have to some extent gratefully helped one who had rendered him assistance which he could not better recognise. On the other hand it is possible that Kolotes had imbibed enough of the spirit of Pheidias to produce a statue which might pass as the work of the master. It is possible also that the dubiety depends solely on the overshadowing fame of Pheidias. Least of all probable is it that the statue in question was directly his work.

¹ Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 16, states as if it were a general belief that Agorakritos had been allowed to put his name to several of the statues of Pheidias: itaque e suis operibus pleraque nomini ejus donasse fertur.

² Pausanias, v. 20, 2, prefers the Parian origin of Kolotes to that from Herakleia and adds that he was a pupil of Pasiteles, an autodidakt. But the occurrence of Pasiteles as a sculptor of Roman times and the similarity of the name to Praxiteles has led some to change the name in Pausanias

to Praxiteles and to regard him as the grandfather of the celebrated sculptor of that name. See Klein, Die Parisch. Attische Kunstschule in the Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich, iv. p. 5. But Brunn treats this and other attempts to prove the existence of a grandfather Praxiteles, and a grandfather Skopas with marked hostility, in the Berichte der bayer. Akad. d. Wissen., 1880, p. 435. fol.

For the ancient authorities on the works of Kolotes see Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, No. 846-850.

Kolotes was evidently skilled in the working of gold and ivory. For, besides the Athena at Elis just spoken of, there was, as we have said, a figure of Asklepios by him of ivory and a table at Olympia which, though of no great size, was richly sculptured with figures probably in gold and attached to the ivory sides of the table. The arrangement of these figures was as follows: on the front, Hera and Zeus, Rhea and Hermes, Apollo and Artemis; on the back, a representation of the games (at Olympia); on one side, Asklepios and Hygieia, Ares and Agon, a personification of the games probably in the form of a youthful male figure winged;¹ on the other side, Pluto with his key of Hades, Dionysos, Persephone and two nymphs.

We have already had occasion to refer to Theokosmos of Megara and the statue of the Olympian Zeus on which he was at work with the aid of Pheidias when the Peloponnesian war broke out.² The face, probably the whole head, was of gold and ivory; the rest of the statue remained in clay and gypsum as it had been modelled. Behind the temple lay half-finished pieces of wood which Theokosmos had meant to cover with ivory and gold and thus complete the work. Above the head of the god, that is to say, on the top rail of his throne as at Olympia, were figures of the Seasons and Fates. It is clear that this idea had been obtained from Pheidias. Possibly Theokosmos had assisted him at Olympia. Afterwards he appears as the sculptor of one of a large series of statues dedicated at Delphi by the Lacedaemonians to commemorate the battle of

¹ Curtius, in the Arch. Zeit. 1872, p. 74, understands "Agon" in this sense, and quotes from Pausanias v. 26, 2, Ἀγὼν φέρων ἀλτῆρας. We may perhaps best imagine "Agon" in the form of one of the two winged genii setting cocks to fight, sculptured on the sides of the chair of the priest of Dionysos Eleuthereus in the theatre

of Athens.

This table, it may be remarked in passing, has been made to play a prominent part in the theory of "Agonal temples." See Petersen, Kunst des Pheidias, p. 40, and L. Julius, Die Agonaltempel der Griechen, p. 8.

² Pausanias, i. 40, 3.

Aegospotami (B.C. 405).¹ These statues had been distributed among different artists, some of whom are known to have been pupils of Polykleitos. All are Peloponnesians. The statue undertaken by Theokosmos was that of Hermon, the pilot of Lysander's galley.

Another Parian sculptor who has not altogether escaped the all-appropriating fame of Pheidias, is Thrasymedes. But it is only on very slight authority that his claim is disputed against the testimony of Pausanias² that the statue of Asklepios at Epidauros was by him. The fact of Pheidias having drawn assistants from among the sculptors of Paros, would suggest that Thrasymedes had also been one of them, and this would explain the doubt as to the authorship of the Asklepios, if there is any reason at all in that doubt. It was a statue of gold and ivory; the god was seated on a throne leaning one hand on his staff, the other held the head of his serpent; at his feet lay a dog.³ On the throne, but on what part of it is not said, were sculptured Bellerophon slaying the Chimaera, and Perseus cutting off the head of Medusa. Both these subjects occur on what appear to have been two companion reliefs in terra-cotta found in Melos and now in the British Museum. They are of singular beauty and slightly archaic, but not more so than it is possible to conceive in the time of Pheidias.⁴

¹ Pausanias, x. 9, 4, describes this monument of the Lacedaemonians, and mentions the following sculptors as having been employed on it, with the parts allotted to each: Theokosmos of Megara, Antiphanes of Argos, Piso of Calauria, Athenodoros and Dameas of Kleitor, Tisandros, Alypos of Sikyon, Patrokles and Kanachos.

² ii. 27, 2.

³ See coin of Epidauros representing this statue, engraved in Overbeck, Gr. Plastik, 3rd ed. i.

p. 280. A coin of the same type, in the British Museum, is published by Mr. W. Wroth in his article on Asklepios and the coins of Pergamon in the Numismatic Chronicle, 3rd series, ii. pl. 1, No. 2. On the coins Asklepios holds a serpent under its head in a way which is not well described as *ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τοῦ δράκοντος*, though from one point of view it is correct.

⁴ Engraved in Müller's Denkmäler, Nos. 51-52. The excavations on the site of the theatre at

It is perhaps with some injustice that Alkamenes has been called by Pliny¹ a pupil of Pheidias. For, however honourable the title may have been, it yet implies with so great a master a degree of dependence. They were unquestionably associated together, but rather as contemporaries, it would seem, if not to some extent as rivals. The most authoritative statement on the matter appears to be that of Pausanias,² who says that Alkamenes was a contemporary of Pheidias and next to him in the wisdom of sculpture. Fortunately the excavations at Olympia have placed us in a not unfavourable position for judging on this point.

But first to take the records of works that no longer exist, we find Alkamenes highly praised for a statue of "Aphrodite in the Gardens" at Athens. Possibly this statue was made to eclipse the archaic image of that goddess beside her temple, as to which Pausanias says, it was in the form of a term or pillar with an inscription which told that it was "Aphrodite Urania, the oldest of the Fates." If it could be proved that the new Aphrodite of Alkamenes also represented this type of the goddess there would then be no obstacle to concluding that this was the statue for which he competed with Agorakitos, and that Agorakitos having failed, had no difficulty in changing the name of his statue from Aphrodite (Urania) to Nemesis, as he is said to have done.³ This Aphrodite, "the oldest of the Fates,"

Epidauros, brought to light a torso of Asklepios. But he is there in the attitude of standing, and draped in a himation apparently resembling the torso of him in the British Museum, also from Epidauros (Mus. Marbles, ix. pl. 5; see also *Praktika* of the Arch. Soc. of Athens, 1882, Appendix, p. 38).

¹ Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 16. With regard to the Aphrodite "in the gardens," Pliny says: *huic summam manum ipse Phidias imposuisse dicitur.*

² v. 10, 2. See also Tzetzes as quoted by Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, No. 810. The words of Pausanias are: *Ἀλκαμένους ἀνδρὸς ἡλικίαν τε κατὰ Φειδίαν καὶ δευτερεῖα ἐνεγκαμένου σοφίας ἐς ποιήσιν ἀγαλμάτων.*

³ Brunn, *Griech. Künstler*, i., p. 241, makes this suggestion also. Pliny, as we have already noted in connection with Agorakritos, says that the Nemesis was changed from an Aphrodite. Pausanias does not describe the Aphrodite of Alkamenes, and it is not likely that

was evidently allied to Nemesis. For the present we have only the praises of Lucian to guide us as to the type of this figure, and they are too general to be of practical use.¹

In one instance Alkamenes is said to have produced a substitute for a more ancient figure, that of Hera, for her temple on the road from Phalerum to Athens, which temple Mardonios had burned, destroying the roof and the door. It is curious that while neither roof nor door were repaired even down to the time of Pausanias, a new statue should have been placed in the temple by no less an artist than Alkamenes. Yet such is the record,² and if it is true we can hardly suppose that the new statue had been very attractive.

Few figures recur more frequently in ancient art than that of Hekate, whether in single or triple form. The reason of this frequency consists to a large extent in the adaptability, especially of her triple form, for the purpose of a support or stand of some object such as a lamp, for the ornament of a finger-post at cross-roads, or for the image at the door of dwelling-houses. So much is this the case that there is every temptation to believe that a purpose of this kind had been in view at the original conception of Hekate as a statue. Whether that was so or not it is certain that Alkamenes sculptured his Hekate in triple form, and when it is argued that in this he may have obtained a suggestion for it in the grouping of Victories on the legs of the throne of Zeus at Olympia, that argument is not intended to exclude his having been primarily guided by

he means to convey any idea of it by his observations about the archaic statue of the goddess standing near the temple. From what we know elsewhere the Aphrodite ἐν κήποις was not a Term in the ordinary sense, and could hardly have been one even in the wider sense which includes a figure down to below

the hips, as in the figures in the British Museum engraved in Mus. Marbles, ii. pl. 35, pl. 37, and x. pl. 30.

¹ Lucian, *Imagines*, 4 and 6.

² Pausanias, i. 1, 4: compare x. 35, 2. Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. 1, p. 275, declines this record as not altogether satisfactory.

an older tradition of a Hekate, triple as to the head, if not more.¹

With so large a choice it may seem easy to select a type which would answer to the Hekate Epipyrgidia of Alkamenes, so called from its having stood on the *pyrgos*, at the entrance to the acropolis of Athens where the temple of Nike still stands. But among the numerous Hekataea of triple form still existing there appears to be not only no evidence of the large style which we must assume for Alkamenes, but there is even a very constant presence of archaistic elements of style which, though they may be satisfactorily accounted for by the tastes of the producers of minor art in subsequent times, yet obscure all definite proof of indebtedness to him.²

Among the other works of Alkamenes referred to by

¹ Petersen, in the very elaborate memoir already referred to, on the Dreigestaltige Hekate, p. 33, suggests this possible indebtedness to Pheidias and cites an Artemision with three heads, as well as such epithets of Hekate as *τριπρόσωπος*, *τρίκρανος*, in favour of his belief that Alkamenes had found, so to speak, the embryo of his design in a simple figure with three heads (pp. 14 and 19 of the Arch. Epigr. Mittheil. aus Oesterreich, 1881). Figures of Hekate, as he shews from Aristophanes, Wasps, 804, were common at the doors of dwelling-houses, and it is known that in early times they were placed at cross roads. Myron's Hekate was a single figure, no doubt single throughout. It is to be observed that at the entrance to the acropolis, and therefore near to the triple Hekate, was also the group of the three Graces ascribed to Sokrates. The proper title of the Hekate appears to have been Artemis-Hekate (Furtwaengler, Mittheil. des Inst. in Athen, iii. p. 193.)

² Furtwaengler, in the Mittheilun-

gen d. Inst. in Athen, iii. p. 194, had argued that all the examples of the triple Hekate may be traced to an original executed in the last period of archaic art. That would explain their archaistic character. But he argues next that such a work cannot be traced to Alkamenes now that we have the sculptures of Olympia from his hand to judge by. But Petersen (Dreigestaltige Hekate, p. 31 fol.) endeavours to show that this archaism is more apparent than real. His arguments are sound so far as they go, but they still leave the hiatus of a Hekate in the large style of Alkamenes, and if his work was an innovation, we must allow him to have had perfect freedom for the expression of his own manner. In reproducing an older figure he would be under restraint of style. It is, of course, not impossible that he was under such a restraint. I cannot agree with Petersen that the mere necessity of placing three identical figures round a cylindrical shaft, would itself have imposed restraint on an artist of inventive power.

ancient writers are a statue of Ares, another of Dionysos of gold and ivory, and a third of Hephaestos in which the clever concealment of his lameness is praised.¹ These, like the preceding sculptures, were executed for Athens. The type of the Dionysos has been identified on Athenian coins² where he is seated on a throne, and except for the attributes of the wine god has more the aspect of Zeus. In being thus seated and bearded, it recalls the Dionysos of archaic art, but in the mode of drapery it points to the time of Pheidias and the Parthenon frieze. When it is said as regards the Hephaestos that his lameness was concealed by drapery, we are reminded of a vase³ in the British Museum where he is present at the birth of Pandora, and is drawn in a manner suggestive of the style of Alkamenes in the west pediment at Olympia. The Athena said to have been produced in competition with Pheidias, to which reference has already been made, and a possible group of Prokne⁴ conclude the list of his sculptures in Athens, unless it was there also that he made the bronze statue of an athlete which was known as the "Encrinomenos," and which it has been sought to identify with several marble statues representing a disc-thrower standing in the act of preparing to hurl his disc.⁵ It

¹ Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, Nos. 818-822.

² Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. i. p. 274, fig. 57.

³ The kylix here referred to was found at Nola, and is engraved in *Mon. Céram.* iii. pl. 44. The figures are drawn on a white ground in a large style with accessories of brown colour and gilding.

⁴ Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 237, thinks the Prokne group, mentioned by Pausanias as having been dedicated on the acropolis by Alkamenes, hardly can refer to the artist.

⁵ Kekulé (*Arch. Zeit.* 1866, p. 169, and pl. 209, figs. 1-2) cites

the various statues of this type without of course the more recently acquired example in the British Museum. But the evidence on which he seeks to trace the type to Alkamenes, seems to me too slight, though he appears to be justified in rejecting the popular authorship of Naukydes for it (compare Brunn, *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.* 1879, p. 207). Though the attitude is different from that of the Discobolus of Myron, yet the form is sufficiently similar to show that this figure also originated in the Attic school. Compare Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. i. p. 275, fig. 58. Kekulé, subsequently (in his

will not be denied that the disc-thrower in question is the conception of an Attic, not of a Peloponnesian, artist. But it has yet to be proved that Alkamenes belonged to the Attic school in this strict sense, and if that were proved, there would remain the doubt as to the intention of the epithet "Encrinomenos" (approved), whether it was to apply to the statue as a work of art, or, as is perhaps more probable, to the athlete as a type of the successful winner of the pentathlon.

Outside Athens we find Alkamenes at Mantinea where he made a statue of Asklepios, and at Thebes where he sculptured a marble group of Athena and Herakles.¹ The type of the Asklepios has been sought in a standing figure of that god on Athenian coins,² but it is a question whether this attitude, which has more of the burgess than of the god in it, was likely to have found its way into the art of a great sculptor in the time of Pheidias. With regard to the Athena and Herakles there is the interesting record of Pausanias³ that they were erected by Thrasybulos and his companions in or shortly after the year B.C. 403, in which case the artistic activity of Alkamenes must be admitted to have long survived that of Pheidias. That he was considerably younger is highly probable. It could not be far wrong to assign the beginning of his career as an acknowledged master to the period in which the Parthenon was being built (B.C. 438). Some have thought that he was

memoir Ueber den Kopf des Praxitel. Hermes, p. 11, and p. 22 fol.) has argued very fully for his position that the standing Discobolus shows the influence of Myron and Pheidias both. He does not insist, however, on its being an artistic invention of Alkamenes, though that still seems probable to him.

¹ Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, Nos. 823, 824.

² Beulé, Monnaies d'Athènes, pp. 332, 333, and Overbeck, Gr. Plastik, 3rd ed. i. p. 274.

³ ix. 11, 6. It is scarcely necessary here, but I may state that the Praxiteles mentioned in this passage of Pausanias is made a contemporary of Alkamenes by Klein (Arch. Epigr. Mittheil. aus Oesterreich, 1880, p. 15), and therefore a grandfather of the greater Praxiteles. But Brunn rejects this notion totally (Berichte d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissen. 1880, p. 445.) I hope to examine the question in detail under Praxiteles.

employed on the south metopes ¹ of it, and again it has been argued that the story of his having made a statue in competition with Pheidias is only to be explained by his having executed part of the sculptures in the pediments of that temple.²

The fact that Alkamenes had spent a considerable part of his life in Athens may have led to his being called in some quarters an Athenian, without any better reason even if such had existed. On the other hand he is not uniformly so called. He is claimed for Lemnos also, and, what is apparently the same thing, he is elsewhere spoken of as an "islander."³ When this is said, it is meant to imply that he received at least his earliest artistic education in Lemnos. The question would have little interest were it not for the circumstance that Northern Greece, including the islands of Thasos and Lemnos, had taken an active share in the early art development of Greece. We have already discussed that subject to some extent;⁴ in approaching it again, we may bear in mind, first, that at Olympia the colleague of Alkamenes, Paeonios,⁵ was certainly a native of Northern Greece, and, secondly, that the design of a combat between Centaurs and Lapiths which Alkamenes executed at Olympia, is a design which occurs repeatedly on early silver coins ⁶ of the North, and was

¹ Petersen, Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich, 1881, p. 32 (separate copy), supposes that Alkamenes may have made the drawings for all or part of the south metopes previously to his undertaking the west pediment at Olympia, so great is the correspondence between these two works in Petersen's view.

² Ronchaud, Phidias, p. 200, adopting the notion put forward as he says with reserve by M. Beulé.

³ Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 16, calls him an Athenian; Suidas s. v. Ἀλκαμένης, a Lemnian; Tzetzes, an "islander," as quoted by Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, No. 810.

Compare Brunn, Gr. Künstler, i. p. 234.

⁴ Greek Sculpture before Pheidias, p. 286 fol.; the notion put forward there is that the art of Northern Greece was to a great extent a sort of prolongation of the early art of Asia Minor, with its softness and fulness of forms as compared with the hardness more natural to the early art of Greece proper.

⁵ Brunn, Berichte d. bayer. Akad. d. Wissen. 1878, p. 468, concludes plainly that Alkamenes belonged to the same "art region" as Paeonios.

⁶ See the Catalogue of Greek

doubtless derived from some conspicuous work of art known to him as well as to the die-sinkers of the coins. Whether known to them from an Athenian or a native original, is another matter.

Previous to the German excavations at Olympia, it was generally accepted that Alkamenes had been both a pupil and a rival of Pheidias. It was expected that these sculptures would conform in style to those of the Parthenon.¹ But there were some who judiciously inferred from the ancient records that the rivalry between these two artists had been in a measure a rivalry of different styles.² The result is in their favour. The Centaurs and Lapiths at Olympia are characterized by rudeness of execution side by side with nobility in the conception of forms, a direct and immediate participation in the action amounting to a strong dramatic effect. The Centaurs and Lapiths on the Parthenon are perfect in execution, but, as has already been pointed out, are not nearly immediate in their action. There is thus in the Parthenon a strong element of idealism and

coins in the British Museum, Macedonia, pp. 147-149; the three specimens there engraved are dated approximately at B.C. 500-480.

¹ See Brunn, *Berichte d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissen.* 1878, p. 459. He rejects all comparison between the two series of sculptures, and sees no reason for calling Alkamenes a pupil of Pheidias.

² Ronchaud, *Phidias*, p. 199. "On pourrait penser dans ce cas qu'Alcamène, tout en laissant assouplir son style par les conseils et les leçons de Phidias, a pu cependant retenir dans sa manière quelque chose de la roideur primitive." He refers for a similar opinion to Müller, *De Phid. Vit.* p. 38 and Beulé, *Cours d'Archéologie* professé à la Bibliothèque nationale.

Furtwaengler, in a most interesting essay in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* (Vol. li.), claims (p. 377)

that the temple at Olympia was completed by about B.C. 460, that is, about 12 years before the Parthenon was begun. He maintains that Pheidias had adopted from Olympia not a few of the motives which we find in the Parthenon sculptures, that he had executed his Zeus at Olympia prior to his work on the Parthenon, and that while occupied there he had come under the influence of what Furtwaengler calls the Ionian art of Paeonios and Alkamenes to some extent. Brunn had identified the art of Paeonios with a school of Northern Greece. But it seems better, as I have already pointed out (*Greek Sculpture before Pheidias*, p. 289), to regard Asia Minor with its Ionic population as the originator of this more or less pictorial school of sculpture.

splendid technical skill to set off against an element at Olympia of rudeness in execution and realism of observation combined with a large and profound conception of the types of the various beings involved in the scene. Whether Alkamenes possessed this combination of artistic qualities as an inheritance of his training in Northern Greece, or whether he acquired it with natural aptitude in Athens under the influence of the Northern style in the works of the painter Polygnotos, is of little consequence so long as it is admitted that the works of the painter also presented this combination. And on this point there seems to be small room for doubt. Ancient writers testify to the loftiness of his conceptions. The process in which he painted and the large scale of his figures imposed a broad treatment with suppression of elaborate finish in details. The intensity of his action when occasion offered may be gathered from many observations of Pausanias.¹

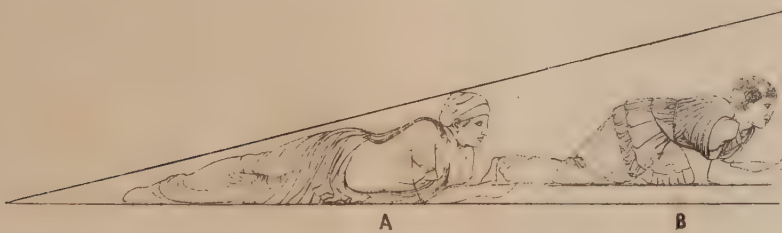
With these remarks may now be compared the sculptures from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia ascribed to Alkamenes.² The subject is the contest that arose between the Centaurs and Lapiths at the marriage-feast of Peirithöos. It was a subject in which the violence dearly beloved in early art was at first sight intensified by the brutality of its perpetrators, but was subsequently mitigated by the marvellous compound of man and horse which these creatures presented. In later times

¹ Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, ii. p. 40. It is true that Polygnotos is credited with excellence in certain details, such as the draping of his female figures; the rendering of the mouth and eyes—but this is rather in comparison with his almost primitive predecessors.

² A restoration of this pediment by Dr. Treu will be found in the *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, iii. pll. 26-27; but subsequently (*Ausgra-*

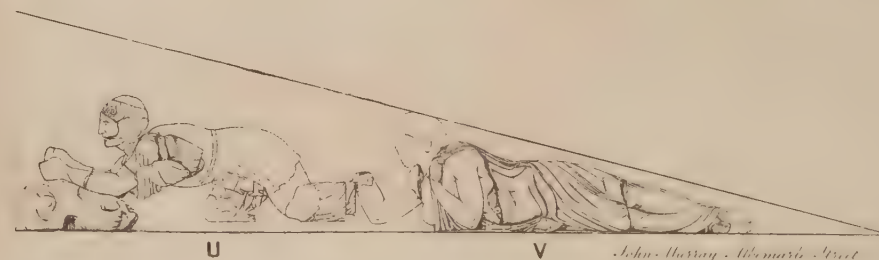
bungen, iv. p. 22) he rectifies mistakes there made in regard to the right hand of Apollo and the head wrongly assigned to the kneeling Lapith maiden on the left. The restoration in Overbeck's *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd edit. shews these points corrected.

The sculptures of this pediment are published in individual groups or pieces in photograph in the *Ausgrabungen*, pll. 9-24.



WEST PEDIMENT
OLYMPIA

Restorations marked in Dotted lines.



John Murray, 15, Mark Lane

the combats of Greeks and Amazons or Greeks and Trojans drove this subject almost out of the field of art. But as yet Alkamenes had no mind even to tone it down as did the sculptor of the Parthenon metopes. His attitude is more that of the artist of the Phigaleian frieze, though obviously milder in his views. But a series of metopes or even the continuous flow of a frieze was a simple matter when the subject was one which hitherto had consisted of an aggregate of separate groups as seems to have been the case. To combine and compose them into one large design fitted to the peculiar space of a pediment may fairly be supposed to have been an entirely new task when it was assigned to Alkamenes. The manner in which he accomplished it shews at once his indebtedness to older models of composition and his own originality. In these models it was a principle of composition to place in the centre of the pediment a commanding figure, and to treat the groups on each side of this figure as two bodies opposed to each other, but each united in itself. The pediments of Ægina and the west pediment of the Parthenon will occur as instances in point. Or, where the scene was peaceful, as in the east pediment of the Parthenon, and where accordingly the two groups of the composition could not be opposed to each other in a hostile sense, they were still united in themselves, and only opposed to each other in rivalry of witnessing the great central act.

A glance at Pl. XII. will show that Alkamenes has departed from this principle in making the two wings of his composition consist of groups hostile within themselves, and in depending for the centralization of the scene solely on the greater importance of the central figures. All the Centaurs on one side and all the Lapiths on the other would have been an absurdity. Legend and artistic tradition alike prescribed for them a series of groups in single and deadly combat. With Alkamenes the whole scene is a raging tumult in the midst of which

appears Apollo who, with the majesty and calmness of a god, bids the struggle cease. The central position of Apollo is the same as that of the Athena in the Ægina pediments. But the possible effect of his interference is far less obvious than in her case. The moment chosen for his appearance on the scene is not strictly one of a series of moments in the action from which the spectator can infer the necessary consequence. It is the moment when the most important person in the scene, the bride, has been seized by the Centaur Eurytion. There is no rush from either side towards the centre, as in older art, to aid the principal combatants. The groups on each side are already locked in their own special encounters. On the contrary the spirit of the composition seems rather directed to suggest the power of the god to scatter the Centaurs, who in the secondary groups are turned away from him. They are arrested in the endeavour to escape with their victims. The attitude of the Centaur in the extreme group on either side (D and S) has no parallel, so far as we know, in ancient art. It is a bold invention, more picturesque, however, than refined. No less bold are the intermediate groups (F, G and P, Q) to judge from what remains of them. They appear to have formed a transition between the principal and the extreme group on each side. Of the two principal groups, that on the right (M, N) finds as regards its action a parallel in one of the metopes of the Parthenon,¹ with this striking difference, however, that Alkamenes has here added a third figure, apparently that of Theseus swinging his axe at the Centaur as described by Pausanias.² The third figure is almost entirely lost, but in general it would have corresponded with the figure H in the opposite group which Pausanias identifies with Kaineus, though it is perhaps rather Peirithöos coming to the rescue of his bride Deidamia. Pau-

¹ Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, pl. 3, No. 12. A cast of this metope may be seen in the British Museum.

² v. 10, 2.

sanias calls the central figure (L) Peirithöos ; but there can hardly be a doubt of its being Apollo.

It is clear that the difficulties of the composition increase enormously as it approaches the confined space of the angles. Even the extreme Centaur groups on both sides, though bold in invention, are obviously forced, and in meaner hands might not have escaped ludicrousness. As the space narrows more the dangers of this become greater. How these dangers were met or overcome it is impossible to say in the present state of the sculptures. But one thing is manifest, that Alkamenes had found himself driven to depart from the traditional plan of placing one reclining figure in each angle. He has adopted two such figures, placing the second, as would seem, on a raised ground, perhaps a shelving rock, and this is a plain admission that the Centaur combats could not have been extended to within one figure of the angle without landing the artist in a ludicrous effect.

In the matter of execution it is to be observed that these figures are frequently hewn away at the back to allow of their being placed hard against the pediment,¹ and it is noticeable that this proceeding, though perhaps to some extent necessary from want of space, is yet strictly in keeping with an obvious principle in the composition, that of presenting as flat a surface as possible to the spectator. The advantages of such a treatment are apparent where colour was to be largely employed, and there can be no doubt that it was so employed on this pediment. A fragment of the drapery of Apollo where it had been protected was found retaining its original red pigment.² But this flatness of

¹ The Centaur I is hewn away, or rather was never rendered at the back, to such an extent that only about three fourths of the thickness of the horse's body is given. The back of the Apollo (L) is left rough or has been rudely chiselled

off. The same is the case with the back of the Centaur D, and in other places.

² Ausgrabungen, iv. p. 23. It is to be remembered that the temple itself was covered with a white stucco, which doubtless covered also the

treatment not only lends itself to the complement of colours; it owes its origin to the influence of the older mural painting, and it is only by bearing this in mind that we can explain the frequent errors in the proportions of the figures and the sacrifice of everything to a noble type and a powerful outline. The same result appears in the vase to which we have already referred as illustrating in a humble manner the grand style of the painter Polygnotos. The subject is Hephaestos and Athena finishing the figure of Pandora. In many points Hephaestos compares strikingly with the Apollo of the pediment. There is the same type of head, the same powerful outlines in the chest and arms, and the same defects of proportion. In both there is in parts a survival of a slightly archaic manner, such as may be ascribed to Polygnotos.

Details are frequently left to be indicated in colour, as in the beards of the Centaurs I and N, where only the ends of the hairs are sculptured, or in the female heads M and A, and the head very doubtfully assigned to H. It was necessary in the female figure E, owing to the motive of the group, to sculpture her hair as falling loose, and this has been done with a curiously unpleasant combination of artistic ability in the arrangement of the two layers of tresses with coarseness of execution.¹ Similarly the hair and ears of Apollo, though singularly effective, are of coarse workmanship. In the draperies, that of the figures E and R are perhaps the worst, there being scarcely a sign of limbs underneath it. But in others also there is a general need of colour. Nor

back of the pediment. On this white ground the sculptures would be, so to speak, projected, and the necessity of lively colours on them was thus rendered absolute. Brunn, *Berichte d. bayer. Akad. d. Wissen.* 1878, p. 455, argues for a pictorial effect in these sculptures, and maintains that it is wrong to expect in them the strict and systematic

art training of Greece proper.

¹ Photographs of this head are given in *Ausgrabungen*, v. pll. 14-15; of the head of the Nymph A, in *Ausgrabungen*, i. pl. 12; of the head of Apollo in *Ausgrab.* i. pll. 21-22; of the Centaur carrying off the Lapith maiden (R), *Ausgrab.* i., pl. 14.

would colour alone meet the difficulty. The sculptor must have reckoned on effect from a distance great enough to absorb all finer details and to bring out the force of his outlines.¹ The flat treatment of his figures wherever it was possible is part of that plan. Without saying that the defects now so obvious may have been virtues in the original composition, we must yet admit that they had been then far less apparent, and had certainly been reckoned on rightly or wrongly for the general effect. Neither inability nor negligence together or apart meet the case.

The subordinate figures in the angles of the pediment (A, B, and U, v), are doubtless intended to localize the scene as taking place, first in a retired rural district personified by the reclining nymphs A and v, and secondly at a festival in the home of Lapith women whose nurses or attendants are represented by the two old women B and U. The head of the nymph A is a conception of extraordinary simplicity and power, in singular contrast to the superficial treatment of the drapery and form.² The aged nurse near her was a less attractive subject. But even the realism, both in face and form, necessary to characterise her as a nurse, has not altogether excluded largeness of conception. Her wrinkled face is a little poor, and her drapery, like the rest, superficial. The heads of the Lapiths, if we may judge by that of G,³ represented men in a condition of

¹ It is curious that the story of a competition between Pheidias and Alkamenēs, makes Pheidias the winner when his statue was raised to a height. The sculptures of the Parthenon pediments, so far as they may be identified with Pheidias, present, when compared with those of Alkamenēs at Olympia, exactly the opposite result. In stories of that kind it was necessary for Pheidias to be the winner. With a transposition of the names the rest may be true. Without denying

the same to Pheidias we see at Olympia that Alkamenēs was *ἀπτικός τελῶν καὶ γεωμέτρης*, as Tzetzes says of Pheidias (Chil. viii. 353).

² For photographs of Nymph A see Ausgrabungen, i. pll. 11-12; of the nurse B, Ausgrab. i. pll. 19-20. Curtius, *Berichte der Akad. zu Berlin*, 1883 (July) is inclined to regard the figures B and U as not belonging to the pediment.

³ For photograph of this head see Ausgrab. i. pl. 15.

physical perfection, but wanting in the effects of civilization so much that it is difficult to see how the Athenians could have associated their hero Theseus with them. Even in the Parthenon metopes, the Lapiths were represented under this general type. But the sculptor had a finer conception there than at Olympia. He sought to humanize the details of form where the Olympian sculptor was content with a forcible grasp of the peculiar type of beings.

In the twelve metopes,¹ with which this temple at Olympia was adorned—six at the east and six at the west front—the labours of Herakles were figured. Pausanias² says nothing of the artist, but it is a fair inference that the sculptor of the pediments was in each case the sculptor also of the metopes on his own front. On this view those assigned by Pausanias to the opisthodomos or west front would fall to Alkamenes. The following is the order given by Pausanias, except that he begins with the east metopes and omits the Cerberus.

WEST METOPES.

Herakles : Girdle of Amazon.	Herakles : Keryneian Stag.	Herakles : Cretan Bull.	Herakles : Stymphalian Birds.	Herakles : Lernæan Hydra.	Herakles : Nemean Lion.
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EAST METOPES.

Herakles : Erymanthian Boar.	Herakles : Horses of Diomedes.	Herakles : Geryon.	Herakles : Atlas.	Herakles : Augean Stable.	Herakles : Cerberus ?
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¹ These metopes were placed, not, as usual, directly under the pediments, but on the epistyle which connected the inner row of columns of the pronaos and the opisthodomos. Of these metopes the French expedition in 1829 found and removed to the Louvre the one representing Herakles and the Cretan bull, the nymph belonging to the group of Herakles and the Stymphalian birds, and some other fragments. These sculptures are

engraved in Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, pl. 195 bis; Müller, *Denkmäler*, pl. 30. The metope of Herakles with the bull has been in some parts, as in the head of the bull, completed by the excavations at Olympia. For a photograph of it in this completed form see *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, v. pl. 17.

² Pausanias gives only 11 labours, but that is an obvious mistake either of his or of his text.

A series of groups, in which the leading figure is always the same person, possesses the double advantage of isolation proper to a metope, and continuity of subject proper to the composition as a whole. In this respect the metopes of Olympia contrast favourably for example with those of the oldest temple at Selinus,¹ where the subject changes from one hero to another. It may be said also, that they so far contrast favourably with the metopes of the Parthenon, where the continuity of the subject, at least in the south metopes, is obtained largely by the recurring similarity of the groups. These labours of Herakles, no doubt, had been severally worked out by artists before the time of Alkamenes, and a number of them had been employed for the metopes of the Theseion, if that building is in reality older than the temple at Olympia as it seems to have been. Yet Alkamenes and his colleague Paeonios deserve the credit of perceiving the artistic appropriateness of such a subject for a continuous series of metopes. For pedimental groups it would seem to be particularly unsuitable, and when Praxiteles² is said to have represented it in the pediments of the temple of Herakles at Thebes, we are compelled to assume that his excellence as a master of form and individual expression had not been accompanied by power of composition.

Of these metopes by Alkamenes there exist in the Louvre, the greater part of the encounter of Herakles with the Cretan bull, and parts of the scenes with the Nemean lion and with the Stymphalian birds; at Olympia there is part of the Lernaean hydra, the figure of Herakles belonging to the Stymphalian birds and

¹ See Greek Sculpture before Pheidias, p. 100.

² Pausanias, ix. 11, 4. The effect of thus combining the various labours of Herakles into one uninterrupted subject may be seen for example on a Græco-Roman sarcophagus in the British Museum

found at Genzano, and engraved *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.* 1868, pll. F-G, or in the reliefs published by Visconti in the *Museo Pio-Clement.* iv. pll. 40-41. On representations of the labours of Herakles, see Klügmann in the *Annali dell' Inst.*, 1864, p. 304.

small parts of the two remaining metopes. The action in the third metope proceeds towards the right, in the fourth towards the left, in the fifth towards the right, and in the sixth towards the left. From this alternation of movement it may be inferred that a corresponding alternation existed in the other two metopes, towards the left in the second, and towards the right in the first. In the sixth or last metope, Herakles stands reposing with one foot planted on the back of the prostrate lion.¹ In the opposite or first metope he may be assumed to have stood, as he is represented on a sarcophagus² in the British Museum, with one foot planted on the body of the prostrate Amazon. There would thus be a degree of balance and alternation throughout the whole series, such as would naturally be expected from an artist whose excellence lay in composition, as well as in the conception of noble types. In this latter respect the metopes or parts of metopes in the Louvre may be said to sustain splendidly his reputation, while confirming at the same time his apparently settled purpose of leaving out details of finish. The female figure seated on a rock, and belonging to the metope of the Stymphalian birds, is meant by her aegis to be Athena, but otherwise might be a local nymph such as we find on one occasion repeated six times out of the eight labours of Herakles.³ It would have been as easy to give Athena

¹ Dr. Treu (*Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 319) proposes to make the series begin with this metope and to end with the Cerberus metope. The head of the Herakles in the sixth metope is given in the *Ausgrabungen*, v. pl. 16, and when compared with the rest of the metope in Paris and at Olympia it shows that the hero stood resting his head on his right hand with a local nymph before him.

² The sarcophagus already cited as engraved in the *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.* 1868, pll. F-G.

³ On the reliefs already cited from

Visconti's Museo Pio-Clement. iv. pll. 40-41. On a nicolo intaglio of the Blacas collection in the British Museum is a group of Herakles and a nymph seated on rocks, resembling the composition of the metope with the Stymphalian birds, except that a boar issues from a cave in the rocks.

Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. i. p. 446, compares in detail the metopes of the Theseion at Athens with those of Olympia, so far as both deal with the same labours of Herakles, and concludes (p. 447)

a helmet and sandals as to sculpture her without them.¹ The object of the artist must surely then have been to avoid what he considered disturbing details, unless indeed we suppose him to have effected a combination of Athena and a local nymph. But in the metope of Herakles and the bull it is equally noticeable that the large and simple form of the hero is disturbed by none of the usual adjuncts of lion's skin and club. The whole metope is a pure display of human form and strength, contrasted with stolid bovine force. In the head of the bull there is no appreciation of its true form and expression. Yet the outline of the animal altogether is singularly broad and effective. The fragmentary condition of the other metopes is unfavourable to any opinion beyond that of their agreeing so far with the others in tending to establish the character of Alkamenes as a sculptor who purposely avoided finish and detail, and did so under pictorial influence, but at the same time with a tacit confession of incapability to combine, as Pheidias had combined, these qualities of finish with perfect largeness of style.

Of the eastern metopes enough remains to show that, in the first and sixth, the action was towards the centre of the series. In the fifth it was also towards the centre, while in the corresponding metope, the second, it was largely but not entirely the same. On the other hand the two central metopes may be described as nearly inactive either way. In the one, the fourth, we have the combat of Herakles with the triple Geryon, and in the other, Herakles in the garden of the Hesperides standing between a Hesperide and Atlas, and bearing on his shoulders the burden of the world which Atlas was unwilling to relieve him of (Pl. XIII.).² This last is the best

that the Olympian metopes exhibit a more archaic style. He contends that they betray no influence of Attic sculpture, and so far he appears to be right.

¹ In one of the metopes of the

east front she has helmet and shield.

² A photograph of the Atlas metope is given in the *Ausgrabungen*, i. pl. 26, and in the *Mittheilungen d. Inst. in Athen*, 1876, pl.

preserved of the eastern metopes. Its errors of proportion, as in the right arm and head of the Hesperide, are too obvious to need demonstration. The poverty of form in the right hand of Herakles is abject. Yet the types of the figures are essentially noble in a very high degree, particularly so Atlas, whose easy attitude brings out all the fulness and ripeness of his form. We have the same absence of disturbing attributes as in the west metopes, and the same calculation on a simple effect of outline and mass. In the metope of the Augean stable, Athena¹ has helmet and shield, but has neither aegis nor sandals. As in one of the west metopes already referred to, she is merely Athena with the least possible indication of her individuality.

The uniformity of style which reigns in both series of metopes, renders it hard to imagine that they could have been executed respectively by two different artists,² though trained in one and the same school. Secondly the striking merits and no less striking faults which they share in common with the sculptures of Alkamenes in the west pediment would naturally lead us to assign both series of metopes to him. We have, however, not yet dealt with the sculptures of the east pediment, which Pausanias expressly ascribes to Paeonios of Mende in Thrace. If they also are found to possess these same characteristics of style

11, with article by Curtius, p. 206, explaining the view of the legend given in the metope, the error of Pausanias in mistaking Herakles for Atlas, and discussing the style of sculpture.

¹ This figure of Athena is given in the *Ausgrabungen*, ii. pl. 26, fig. A.

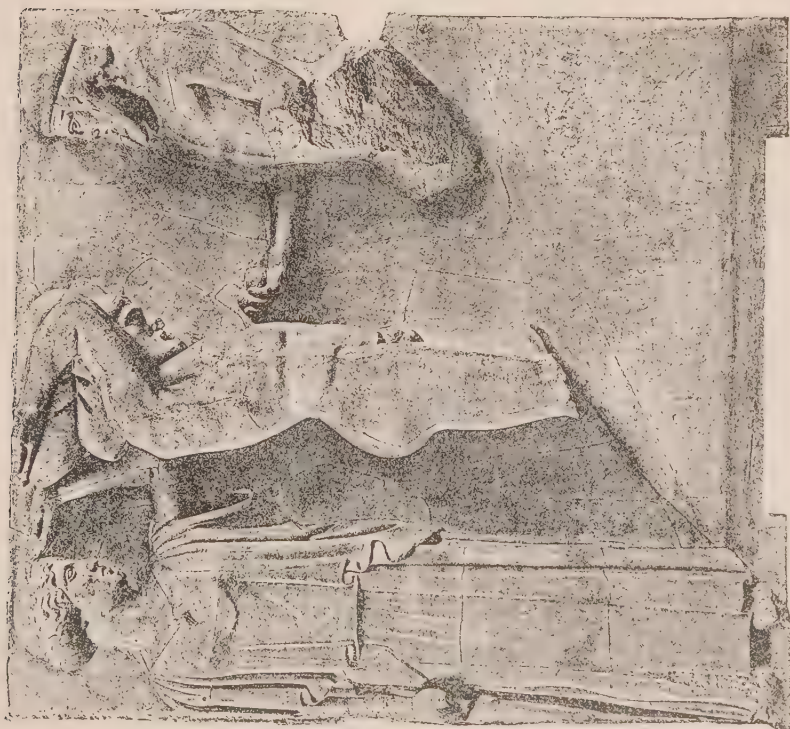
² Brunn, *Berichte d. bayer. Akad. d. Wissen.*, 1876, p. 320, recognised this, and proposed to trace them both (p. 337) to the direct influence of Paeonios if not to his hand. But afterwards, *Berichte d. bayer. Akad. d. Wis-*

sen., 1878, p. 469, he withdrew this theory in favour of the possibility of two artists trained in the same school having executed them, that school being neither the Peloponnesian nor the Attic, but that of Northern Greece.

Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd. ed. i. p. 447, recognises the uniformity of both series of metopes, excludes Attic influence and would assign them to a local Peloponnesian artist employed for the purpose, just as the architect of the temple was employed from among local architects.



HERAKLES—METOPE OF SELINUS.



ATLAS—METOPE OF OLYMPIA.

and if the statement of Pausanias is accurate, there will be no reason why Paeonios may not have executed the metopes on his own side of the temple, difficult as it may be to imagine two sculptors working so entirely alike even where uniformity was so highly desirable. It is true that the statement of Pausanias is not free from the suspicion of being founded on an inscription obtained at Olympia in which Paeonios claims to have made the akroteria, or figures on the apices of the pediments for the temple of Zeus, but says nothing of the pediments themselves. That they were sculptured subsequently to the akroteria and to the inscription in question is always possible and indeed would be accepted as the true explanation, were Pausanias invariably accurate to a detail in his statements in reference to Olympia.¹

The sculptures of the east pediment represent Pelops and Oenomaos ready to begin their contest in a chariot race. In the centre, says Pausanias, was Zeus; on the right of Zeus Oenomaos, wearing a helmet, and beside him his wife Sterope. His charioteer, Myrtilos, sat in front of his horses, four in number; beyond them two attendants, and finally, reclining in the angle of the pediment, the river god Kladeos, honoured at Olympia next to the river Alpheios. On the left of Zeus was Pelops, accompanied by Hippodameia, then his charioteer, horses, and two attendants; lastly, reclining in the angle, the river god Alpheios. So far Pausanias.²

¹ The inscription here referred to is that which was found on the pedestal of the Nike by Paeonios (Arch. Zeitung, 1875, p. 178; for a full discussion of it, compare Arch. Zeit. 1877, p. 59.) Hirschfeld gives an elaborate comparison of Pausanias with the inscriptions found at Olympia in the German excavations, to prove that the statements of Pausanias were, as regards Olympia, not the result of personal observation to any

extent (Arch. Zeit., 1882, p. 98). It is to be observed, however, that in regard to the east pediment, Pausanias (v. 10, 2) in one instance speaks under the correction of a "Guide" at Olympia, who ought to have known his facts. A satisfactory vindication of Pausanias by Schubart will be found in the Neue Jahrbücher, 1883, p. 469.

² v. 10, 2. For photographs of the sculptures of this pediment, see Ausgrabungen, i. pll. 13-25; ii.

From the sculptures as they now exist, thanks to the German excavations, it would appear that the phrase of Pausanias "on the right of Zeus" must be supplemented by "from the spectator's point of view." In this sense Oenomaos and his retinue were in fact on the left of Zeus, as would properly be the case with the then prospective loser of the race. On his side also would be the minor river god Kladeos, not to say that topographically he is there in his right place, just as is the Alpheios at the other extreme, nearest his actual bed.¹

In ancient art we find frequently the approaching combat of Achilles and Memnon, between whom there is a central group, consisting of Zeus with Thetis on one side and Eos on the other, both entreating him for the victory of their respective sons. This was the central scene in a group of sculptures close to this temple by Myron's son Lykios, who could hardly have been other than a contemporary of Alkamenes and Paeonios. Be that as it may, for the present it would seem not unreasonable to expect, both from the influence of artistic tradition, and for the sake of the composition, that the two female figures, Sterope and Hippodameia, should stand next to Zeus, referring the issue of the contest to him. We are assured, however, that this cannot be, and must remain satisfied to accept the arrangement in which the three massive and inactive figures of Zeus, Pelops, and Oenomaos occupy the centre; the female figures, Sterope and Hippodameia, who might have broken this monotony, being

pll. 4-6; iv. pll. 6-8; v. pl. 12; ii., pl. 35, gives a restoration of the pediment. But since then it has been necessary to make many changes in the arrangement of the figures. Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. i. p. 420, fig. 90.

¹ The arguments for the alteration of the apparent order of Pau-

sanias are based partly on æsthetic perceptions and partly on the condition of the marbles themselves as favouring more the one position than the other, if not actually demanding the transposition. These arguments are stated somewhat fully by Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed., i. p. 422.

placed farther away and in positions where they sharply isolate the centre of the pediment, instead of communicating its action to both sides, as the male figures would have done in their place. Besides, they separate each hero from his horses.

According to the legend the race was run with chariots. But Pausanias speaks only of four horses on each side, thereby, no doubt, implying chariots. The sculptor also left chariots to be implied, and in doing so has attained the climax of that principle of composition which we have repeatedly referred to in the sculptures of this temple, the omission of every adjunct or detail which did not contribute to the general effect, however necessary such adjuncts might be to a closer inspection, or to satisfy the more comprehensive genius of a Pheidias. The groom E is finely composed in front of the horses, and with his simple and broadly conceived youthful form gives dignity to an attitude which suits admirably the satyr on the coins of Naxos¹ in Sicily, but which under other conditions would run the risk of being thought trivial. The corresponding figure L was probably treated with the same skill. The attitude of N, an old man seated on the ground, cannot fairly be judged in its present state. But of his torso and head it can be affirmed that though large in style they yet represent a type of being hovering between brutal nature and civilized man, only a little above the Centaurs. Of this same type, though a refined example, is the river god Kladeos (P), as to whom there can be no doubt that the artist who fashioned him was more impressed by the natural features of a river than by the humanizing legends associated with it. While observing in a very general way artistic traditions of river gods as he may have found them on the west pediment of the Parthenon or elsewhere, he has thrown into his figure a

¹ See Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum, *Sicily*, pp. 119-120.

strong sense of the natural force and sweep of a river. The attitude is eager compared with that of the Alpheios at the other extremity of the scene. Both have their legs swathed in drapery to save details of execution, and the draperies here as well as in the Hippodameia, Sterope, and elsewhere present a fair parallel to those of the west pediment and the metopes. Of the female heads, only that of Hippodameia has been moderately preserved, and it is far behind in nobility of type the heads of the west pediment.

From a comparison of these two pediments it will be seen that there exists between them a uniformity of execution and of artistic principle in the avoidance of adjuncts or details thought to be unnecessary to the general effect: ¹ to some extent, too, a uniformity in the power of creating types of beings who represent civilized humanity blended with a strong sense of the forces of nature. But there exists also between them a marked diversity in the power of composition, and in the creation of noble types of beings. This diversity of composition may be defined as consisting of inability on the part of the sculptor of the east pediment to render the whole scene effectively, combined, however, with a striking and original power occasionally of composing single figures, as for example in the Kladeos and the seated figures in front of the horses. The sculptor of the west pediment (Alkamenes) was master of his subject as a whole. Yet he barely escaped ludicrousness, as we have seen in the composition of some of his groups. Where he is most successful in this respect, that is, in the two central groups, the resemblance to metopes of the Parthenon can hardly

¹ This general effect Brunn describes as pictorial in the elaborate examination which he devotes to these sculptures in the *Berichte d. bayer. Akad. d. Wissen.* 1877, pp. 1-28. There is throughout these

figures, as he clearly points out, none of the study of bones, muscles, skin, or drapery as a material independent of the body, which properly characterises sculpture, and is conspicuous in early sculpture.

leave a doubt of his indebtedness to them, or to some older model common to them as to him.¹

These resemblances and differences do not admit of explanation on the theory that the whole of the sculptures had been executed by local sculptors, all of one level, but had been designed by two different artists, unless it be agreed at the same time that both these artists had been trained in one and the same school.² This in fact is agreed to. But the resemblances and differences between the work of two sculptors trained in the same school, as here assumed, might be much the same as between different works of one and the same artist. It would be a question which of these views should prevail were it not for the direct statement of Pausanias that the east pediment was by Paeonios, and the west by Alkamenes, which statement is so far confirmed as regards Alkamenes by the fact that certain of his groups bear an unmistakeable relation to metopes of the Parthenon, a circumstance which recalls his residence in Athens, his rivalry with Pheidias, if not his indebtedness to him as a pupil to some extent. In the pediment

¹ Compare Petersen, *Arch. Epigraph. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 1880, p. 171. The subject of a Centaur carrying off a female figure occurs, as has already been pointed out, on older coins of Northern Greece. See also Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. i. p. 438, and my *Greek Sculpture before Pheidias*, p. 289, and an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, Dec. 1880, p. 1016.

² On this point Brunn is explicit in the *Berichte d. bayer. Akad. d. Wissen.* 1878, p. 457: "Ziehen wir also dasjenige ab, was durch die Besonderheit der den beiden Künstlern gegebenen Aufgaben bedingt war, so werden die noch übrig bleibenden Verschiedenheiten im Ganzen wie im Besonderen uns nicht nöthigen, einen principiellen Gegensatz der

Künstler oder ihrer Schule anzunehmen." After a comparison with the Aeginetan pediments he proceeds (p. 458), "Gerade ebenso begegneten wir im Westgiebel von Olympia allerlei Neuerungen welche über die Vortragsweise des Ostgiebels hinausgehen ohne jedoch dieselbe von Grund aus umzugestalten und ohne in sich einen bestimmten Abschluss gefunden zu haben."

Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. i. p. 439, argues from the uniformity of execution in all the sculptures that they had been made by local artists working from small models or more probably only drawings made by Alkamenes and Paeonios, as he says was first suggested by Dr. Treu in the *Arch. Zeitung*, 1876, p. 186.

ascribed to Paeonios there are no such coincidences. It is possible, no doubt, to conceive that Paeonios had produced the east pediment previous to his coming under the influence of Pheidias, or rather of Athenian art. But the more obvious solution of the difficulty is to accept the statement of Pausanias, and suppose that Alkamenes and Paeonios had conjointly produced these sculptures while still attached in the main to the traditions of one school. Paeonios came from Thrace, and Alkamenes was probably a native of the northern island of Lemnos. Both may have been trained by artists of Northern Greece, Paeonios exclusively so, and Alkamenes originally so.

Meanwhile there is still to be considered the statue of Victory (Nike) by Paeonios with its inscribed base declaring it to be his work, and adding, as we have said, that he had won in an artistic competition for the akroteria of the temple of Zeus. The relevancy of this remark lies in the fact recorded by Pausanias¹ that on the highest point of each pediment, the akroterion, was a figure of Nike, and it is a fair assumption that the marble statue which has been found was more or less a replica of these figures (Pl. XIX.). Her attitude is obviously conceived for such a high position, and it was doubtless with a view to this that she was placed on a pedestal about 20 feet high. We must then regard her as nearly contemporary with the Victories on the temple. Pausanias² gives the choice of two dates for the Nike—

¹ v. 10, 2: καὶ Νίκη κατὰ μέσον μάλιστα ἔστηκε τὸν ἀετὸν ἐπίχρυσος καὶ αὔρη. Brunn (Berichte d. bayer. Akad. d. Wissen. 1876, p. 340) and others argue that the word akroteria in the inscription on the base of the Nike cannot be meant to refer to the apices of the pediments but to the sculptures of the pediments. This is not only a forced explanation, but leaves unexplained any motive for recording the fact, though the first

impression, when the inscription was found, was naturally that it ought to refer to the sculptures of the pediments. Curtius, in the Arch. Zeit. 1875, p. 78, argues for this view, and quotes an instance of the use of ἀκρωτήριον for fastigium or ἀετός. Schubring, who examines the whole question of this inscription very fully in the Arch. Zeit. 1877, p. 59 fol., rejects the meaning of akroteria here argued for by Curtius.

² v. 26, 1.

the battle of Sphakteria, B.C. 425, and the expedition against Oeniadae in Akarnania, B.C. 456-452. He prefers the latter date, and if the building of the temple is to be assigned to about B.C. 460, he would appear to be justified in his preference.¹ On the other hand it has been argued that the temple could hardly have been finished before B.C. 430-422, and that such external decorations of it as the akroteria may well have been deferred to any time between B.C. 430 and B.C. 422.² A much earlier date would make the artistic career of Alkamenes one of unprecedented, if not impossible length.³ As regards Paeonios the earlier date proposed for his Nike by Pausanias would suit the earlier date assigned to the temple. It is a question, however, whether in the interval following on his completion of the east pediment he had not profited by an acquaintance with the Athenian manner of rendering drapery in sculpture and in some other respects. The drapery of the Nike can hardly be explained otherwise, so like is it to the Athenian manner after Pheidias, and so unlike

¹ Brunn (*Berichte d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissen.* 1876, p. 339) favours this date, it being understood that the statue had not been finished till some years after the expedition to Oeniadae. As regards the building of the Temple Furtwaengler (*Bronzefunde aus Olympia*, p. 4, and *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, p. 44) maintains that it must be assigned to a date between B.C. 480-460. So also A. Boetticher, *Olympia*, p. 289. When Herodotus (ii. 7) refers to the temple of Zeus at his time he probably means the temple which now exists in ruins. The inscription under the Nike of one of the pediments may refer rather to the earlier (B.C. 457) than to the later (B.C. 426) battle of Tanagra (Pausanias, v. 10, 2). Several fragments of this inscription have been found and show that Pausanias was wrong in

stating that it occurred on the shield under the Nike. Purgold (*Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 179) proves that these fragments belonged to a marble plinth which had been fitted on to the apex of the pediment. Accepting the earlier battle of Tanagra (B.C. 457) as the occasion on which the golden shield with its inscription was dedicated, he concludes (p. 184) that this was coincident with the completion of the temple of Zeus, which he thus assigns to B.C. 456. The Nike above the shield was according to him a subsequent addition.

² Schubring, in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1877, pp. 63, 65; and Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. i. p. 414.

³ For this reason A. Boetticher, *Olympia*, p. 294, goes so far as to conclude that Pausanias is in error in connecting Alkamenes at all with the sculptures of the temple.

the manner of the Olympian pediments and metopes. He could, no doubt, have acquired this knowledge without waiting for the arrival of Pheidias and his assistants in Olympia, though that is the most probable theory. But for our general purpose it is enough to conclude that his share in the temple sculptures was completed previous to that arrival and his Nike after it.

The improvement in the drapery here referred to consists in its being treated as a substance subordinate to the form underneath, owing its folds and general aspect altogether to that form and its movements. But Paenonios is not entirely master of this new principle. When the drapery clings to the body of Nike, as under her left breast, it is strained across like a bandage, with a very poor effect; while again its presence is almost ignored at the right knee, the bones of which are shown with nearly as much distinctness as in the left knee, which is bare. It is in the long folds which sweep over the right leg that he has succeeded best, and even there it is curious to observe that the lines of the folds on each side are treated as if they were caused by the movement of the leg, independently of the movement of the whole figure, which ought to be regarded as the principal cause, since the figure is moving compactly through the air. Yet these folds could only be produced by an isolated action of the right leg. They cannot be rightly seen except by standing some distance to the side, though the statue seems intended to be seen full to the front. It is true that a strictly accurate treatment would have had a disagreeable effect considering the position of the leg. That is the source of the error, and an artist familiar with the free treatment of drapery would have foreseen it. There is no such mistake to be found on the Nereid statues, for example, in the British Museum (Pl. XIX.)¹ The eagle under her feet, like

¹ Mon. dell' Inst. Arch. x. pll. 11, 12. The finding of the plinth on which the Nike stood, and which

surmounted the tall three-sided column, shows that her action was not, as some had supposed, in a

the marine animals under these Nereids, indicates the element of air through which she is passing, and is at the same time the omen of victory.

The form of the Nike is necessarily more displayed than that of the female figures in the temple sculptures. It is never lost sight of; its presence is the ruling idea of the artist. But except for this regard to general form Paeonios shows no particular advance, though the bare left leg presented an opportunity for finer modelling than was bestowed on the temple sculptures. It remains, however, quite in their style, simple and bold in outline and form, but wanting in embellishment, whether by refined modulation or by actual adjuncts, such as sandals. Only part of the head has been preserved. But it shows, in the few tresses that are visible, a marked improvement on the hair of the temple sculptures, and so far Paeonios may again be said to have profited by Athenian example. To have extended this treatment of the hair over the whole head would have required more attention and labour than to cover the greater part of it with a cap, and he preferred the latter course.

Thus it may be said, in conclusion, that the recovery of these sculptures at Olympia due to the most praiseworthy efforts of Germany has revealed on a large scale a phase of idealism which, with its largeness of form,

line with one of the angles of the column. As seen from the front, she appeared to stand on a square column, just as does the bronze statuette of a Silenus Cistophorus in the British Museum which also has a three-sided pedestal.

Various proposals have been made, but as yet without commanding general assent, for restoring the arms of the Nike. It is not easy to believe that she simply held extended the ends of a peplos, somewhat like the so-called Iris in the east pediment of the Parthenon, as proposed by A. Boetticher,

Olympia, p. 321.

A bronze statuette of Nike in the British Museum (*Mon. dell' Inst. Arch.* viii. pl. 12, fig. 11) has the same attitude, and she is represented carrying a cornucopia above her left shoulder. It may be doubted whether at the time of Paeonios the cornucopia had been introduced into art in this manner. But it would be easy to regard it as substituted for a trophy, for example, such as another bronze statuette in the British Museum carries above her left shoulder.

boldness and strength of outline, disregard of accurate knowledge in details, and exclusion of accessories or adjuncts, could hardly have originated otherwise than under the pictorial influence of Polygnotos. From mural painting to bas-reliefs was no difficult step; and it is to be remembered that these sculptures are either reliefs, or in composition and treatment approach closely to the principle of relief. The experiment had many points of attractiveness besides that of novelty, and it is not strange that it found favour outside of Athens and other centres of strict training in sculpture, maintaining an existence side by side with the idealism of Pheidias. In varying degrees it is to be met with in the frieze of Phigaleia and in the metopes of one of the temples at Selinus, known as the temple of Hera.¹ As at Olympia, this temple had twelve metopes disposed in six on each end. The human forms are of a large and striking mould, depending for effect on their being types of beings evidently removed above all that is pinched or exaggerated in ordinary nature. The draperies are more refined than at Olympia. But the type of face is in no instance noble, as it sometimes is there. There is altogether more of archaism in the Sicilian metopes.² The face of Zeus in the metope where he meets Hera has the realism of an early age; yet the whole figure including the drapery is rendered with a mastery of skill in sculpture proper. The objection to adjuncts and accessories which we saw at Olympia is by no means so marked at Selinus. At the same time details of this kind are far from conspicuous. In the metopes of Aktaeon and of Herakles (Pl. XIII.) both heroes are almost entirely nude, and present to the spectator largely conceived forms such as would be difficult to find an echo

¹ See Greek Sculpture before Pheidias, p. 252, and fig. 51.

² Benndorf (*Metopen von Selinunt*, p. 69) considers that the style of these metopes had been largely influenced from Athens and

the Attic style as it existed before the Parthenon was finished, though they may, he thinks, have been executed later than the Parthenon sculptures.

of elsewhere than at Olympia. To some extent the action is more dramatic at Selinus, as would naturally be expected if the metopes there belong in spirit if not in reality to an earlier age than those of Olympia.

When we read that Sicilian kings about the beginning of the fifth century B.C. chose non-Sicilian artists¹ to execute for Olympia the monuments of their successes in the chariot races, it is a fair inference that Sicily did not then possess, in this department of sculpture, men of the first rank. But it does not follow that in temple sculpture the island was at all deficient in native talent. On the contrary, it may be said to have excelled, if we judge by the abundance and quality of the remains of sculpture of that description still to be seen. Recent investigations² have shown that on the occasion of building at Olympia a Treasury of the Geloans, the method and materials of decoration peculiar to Sicily were employed, and we have thus one instance of the participation of that island in the artistic affairs of Olympia. The distance was not great. It was so direct that the Alpheios, as he flows past Olympia, was fabled to follow a Nymph under the earth to Ortygia at Syracuse.³ Nor is a more or less extended artistic intercourse between the two places improbable. The head of Apollo on coins of Leontini⁴ compares well both in type of face and in the treatment of hair with the Apollo of the west pediment at Olympia. As an artistic motive, the groom seated before his horses in the east pediment is almost the same as the satyr on

¹ Greek Sculpture before Pheidias, p. 146 and p. 149. Cf. Lloyd, *Hist. of Sicily*, p. 75 and p. 147.

² Dorpfeld, Bormann, Graeber, and Siebold, in the *Winckelmannsfest-Program*, Berlin, 1881.

³ Pausanias, v. 7, 2; Ovid, *Metam.* v. 572. Strabo (vi. p. 270) repeats the story as legendary in spite of the report that a cup thrown into the Alpheios at

Olympia issued at Ortygia. He quotes Pindar as sharing this belief that the Alpheios issued at Ortygia from the opening lines of the 1st Nemean ode,

"Αμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἄλφειοῦ
Κλεινῶν Συρακοσσᾶν θάλας Ὀρτυγία.

⁴ Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum, *Sicily*, pp. 89-92.

coins of Naxos¹ in Sicily. The half human, half brutal type of beings in both those pediments is of frequent occurrence in the river gods of Sicilian coins.

¹ Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum, *Sicily*, pp. 119, 120. I may mention also as presenting motives more or less related to those of the sculptures at Olympia: (1) the figure of a hunter resting with foot raised, on a coin of Segesta, *loc. cit.* p. 113, and (2) Herakles and bull on coin of Selinus, *ibid.* p. 141. These

references to coins may have little absolute value in this question. But they are evidently in the same position as the coins of Northern Greece which have been cited in support of the theory of a Northern Greek school of sculpture as the origin of the style in the Olympian sculptures.

CHAPTER XX.

THE FRIEZE OF PHIGALEIA.

Iktinos the architect of the temple—frieze originally too long—arrangement of the slabs. Battle of Centaurs and Lapiths—battle of Greeks and Amazons—composition and style—influence of older models—fresh observation of nature—influence of pictorial design. Iktinos probably responsible for the design of the frieze as well as for the architecture.

FROM Olympia up the valley of the Alpheios, it is an ordinary day's journey to Phigaleia, high above which, near the ancient village of Bassae, are the ruins of the temple erected by the Phigaleians to Apollo Epikurios, to commemorate the abatement of a plague which had visited them about B.C. 429. The architect was Iktinos, who had before been employed, as we have seen, on the Parthenon at Athens (B.C. 438).¹ Of this temple there remains the frieze, which was placed on the inner, instead of as usual on the outer wall of the cella, and parts of a series of twelve metopes, which, as at Olympia, appear to have been disposed six at each end above the pronaos and opisthodomos.² These sculptures were removed

¹ Pausanias, viii. 41, 5. He praises this temple as being next in the Peloponnesos to that of Tegea for beauty and *harmonia*.

² Cockerell (Temples of Aegina and Bassae, pl. 5) gives a restoration of six of the metopes on one front, and at p. 52, says that the whole must have been arranged as on the temple of Zeus at Olympia. Three

fragments of metopes are engraved in the Museum Marbles, iv. pl. 24 : the frieze occupies pll. 1-23. The sculptures of this temple are engraved in Stackelberg's *Apollo-Tempel zu Bassae*, Rome, 1826, and in Blouet's *Expédition Scientifique de Morée*, ii. pll. 20-23. These plates are published separately with text by Lebas, Paris, 1835.

from the ruins in 1812, and were acquired by the British Museum in 1814.

The measurements¹ of the temple show that the entire length of the frieze has been preserved. It is evident, however, that when it came to be placed in position it had been found to be too long. To make it fit, a number of the slabs were barbarously reduced in length, and the effect is thus much injured by the too close contiguity of figures originally meant to be a little distance apart. This may be seen, for example, at the juncture of slabs 1 and 2, where the right-hand edge of slab 2 is cut away to an extent which brings the figure on the left of slab 1 into close proximity to the figure in front of him, producing a most disagreeable flow of lines. It is to be noticed, that this process of reducing the slabs is confined to one half of the frieze, that in which the battle of Centaurs and Lapiths is represented, the other half with the battle of Greeks and Amazons being free from it. A fair inference would be that the shortness of the available space had not been discovered till this half of the frieze had been placed in position. How much the miscalculation may have amounted to, it is impossible to say. But even if the inequality of 11 Centaur slabs as compared with 12 of the Amazons be not due to it, there is still evidence of a large mistake having been

¹ According to Cockerell, the total length is 30·436 metres, allowing 10·896 metres for each long side, and 4·322 metres for each short side. In English feet he gives the lengths as 35 ft. 9 in. for each long side, and 14 ft. 2·125 in. for each short side. Blouet's measurements are slightly increased on this: he gives a total of 31·22 metres, allowing 11·2 for each long side and 4·41 for each short side.

My measurements of the slabs of the frieze are, for the long sides, 11·036 and 11·02 metres; for the short sides, 4·412 and 4·287 metres,

making a total length of 30·755 metres as compared with the 30·436 metres of the temple given by Cockerell and the 31·22 metres given by Blouet.

The total length of the slabs as measured by Newton (Ivanoff, in *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.* 1865, p. 38) is 30·840 metres.

The slight excess of my measurements of the slabs over the measurements of the temple as given by Cockerell, could easily be equalized by an overlapping of the slabs at three of the corners. At the fourth corner this is provided for by a sinking in the slab No. 16.



FRIEZE OF PHIGALEIA.

made, by the rude manner in which one of the Centaur slabs (No. 7) has been broken away on the right hand, and thereby reduced probably to about two-thirds of its original length. It is a fatal error to make allowance for this break, as has been done in a recent reconstruction¹ of the frieze, because the holes by which the slab was attached obviously show, by their being inserted at equal distances exactly as in the other slabs, that this slab was placed in position in the form in which it now is. To argue from the excessive reduction in this instance that this slab has been the last of the series, is quite justifiable if its position there is otherwise suitable, as it undoubtedly is. We have accordingly so placed it on Pl. XIV.

As in the west pediment of Olympia, Apollo here also appears in aid of the Lapiths against the Centaurs. He has arrived on the scene in a chariot drawn by two deer, and driven by a charioteer, who may be Artemis.² The scene is indicated as being in a country place, by the rocky ground, the tree, and perhaps also by the image of Hekate on slab 10. The Lapith women rush for protection towards this image, some from the right, others from the left. This movement of the terrified women towards one point renders it necessary to place slabs 10 and 11 as nearly as possible in a central position. It is unusual, no doubt, thus to centralise the

¹ Lange, in an otherwise able article on this frieze in the *Berichte d. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen.* 1880, p. 56, pl. 3. Cockerell, *Temples of Aegina and Bassae*, pl. 12, and Ivanoff in the *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.* 1865, p. 29, properly accept this slab as it stands. Lange's measurements of the slabs are slightly in excess of mine, and this led him to adopt Blouet's dimensions for the temple and to assume a missing portion of slab 7 to equalize matters.

² The deer, though associated

with Apollo, was especially sacred to Artemis, and it may here be mentioned that at the annual festival procession in her honour at Patras one of the sights was a virgin driving in a chariot drawn by deer (Pausanias, vii. 18, 7). Nor can the subordinate part of a charioteer be considered unworthy of Artemis when we find for example Athena driving Herakles, and Aphrodite driving Poseidon in chariots. Both subjects occur on black figure amphorae in the British Museum.

composition of a frieze. But with the Parthenon as a marked exception, we may safely depart from the rule and assign to the slab with Apollo a place rendered conspicuous in the composition by the converging of the action on both sides. He is figured as the god who wards off ills, and it was for an act of this nature that the temple was raised to him. Whether or not the charioteer is Artemis, there can be no doubt that the yoke of deer is a happy device, not only to indicate the god, but as a contrast to the equine forms so abundant in this part of the frieze. From the eastern entrance this slab would be at once observable as a testimony to the god of the temple.

There is no indication here, as in the metopes of the Parthenon, that the battle between the Centaurs and Lapiths took place at the marriage feast of Peirithöos. On the contrary, women rushing with infants in their arms suggest rather an unexpected raid. The image of Hekate, towards which they rush for protection, may imply the presence of a temple, or of human dwellings, but it may equally imply a lonely spot. These puny infants are introduced to lend horror to a scene already full of horrors. With the women it is a dread of insult that moves them; with the men it is a fight for life in defence of their womenkind, and though some are in a precarious position there is no instance of actual death. Of the Centaurs one lies dead, while another beside him receives a stab which calls forth every energy of his body. And here it may be remarked that in this part of the frieze (slabs 1-2), the direct observation of nature displayed generally by the artist is at its highest. The Lapith who delivers the stab is a picture of muscular action to such an extent that he almost loses his individuality through it, his body becoming poor and meagre under the strain. The Centaur lying before him is carefully studied to show that he is left dead on the ground without any more sign of pain, his face averted, and the back of his

head turned to the spectator as now equally important with the face.

In the Amazon slabs there are no such acts of cruelty or tension. It is a fair fight, which, though severe, is yet blended with incidents of true pathos, as on slab 14, where an Amazon tenderly supports a Greek whom she has wounded, while another Amazon carries away on her back the body of a Greek who has fallen under her blow. Or, again, in slab 23 one Amazon stops another from delivering the stroke with which she means to despatch a fallen opponent. Compare also slabs 14 and 20.

Variety of action and costume is much the same in both sides of the frieze. Naturally the Amazons¹ are of a uniform type, as compared with the Lapith women, among whom some are mothers with infants, while others are maidens. The woman on slab 3 may be called colossal compared with the rest, and they also vary in scale. Both the Lapiths and Centaurs differ frequently in size, and this, together with the variations of armour and costume, tends to increase the sense of turmoil. Except in one instance (No. 18) the Amazon slabs present no complex groupings. The combatants are paired or balanced in a more or less simple fashion, familiar in ancient art, but are never altogether empty of effective incident to carry forward the interest of the spectator. But the Centaur slabs, with the exception, perhaps, of Nos. 5, 8, and 11, teem with incident, which at times, as on slabs 3, 6, 7, is so complicated as to have demanded a power of lucidity hardly inferior to that displayed in the most complex groups of the Parthenon frieze. It is noticeable, however, that this power has

¹ The reported competition of Pheidias, Polykleitos, and other masters for the statue of an Amazon at Ephesus would go to show that the type of the Amazons had been established about that time, and owed the largeness of form which

it always retained to the largeness of style peculiar to those great artists. Had the type not come into art till after the time of Praxiteles we should have had a different result.

failed the artist in the Kaineus slab (No. 4), where the tail of one of the Centaurs would necessarily obscure part of the body of one of the Lapiths. The difficulty has been met by simply reducing the tail to a mere stump, not objectionable in its position, though obviously disregarding a plain fact. But it is to be remembered that this group was familiar in art, and in this instance had doubtless been adopted by the sculptor without any serious attempt at deviation. At other times, when the design is fairly simple, it is easy to recognise the artist's impatience with unoccupied spaces on his background. On these occasions he enlarges his forms to the extent of grossness almost, or sketches in a flourish of drapery which otherwise might have been spared, and sometimes, as in slab 20, presents a disagreeable effect and a very marked contrast to the movement of drapery produced by speed in the west frieze of the Parthenon. In the Centaur slabs he had the difficult task of dealing with five different sets of characters, as against two in the Amazon series, Centaurs, Lapiths, women, infants, and a god or gods with a chariot. In these circumstances a systematic balance and responsion of figures was impossible, and if an equivalent for it was to be sought it could hardly have been found elsewhere than in a balance between one half of the series of slabs and the other half, the groups of Apollo and the nearest suppliants forming a sort of centre for the whole. In regard, then, to composition, it may be said that the subject as conceived by this artist presents a novel task in sculpture. It is true that in the group of Kaineus (No. 4) he has followed an established conception, as may be seen from the frieze of the Theseion at Athens, or again that in slab 5 he has adopted a familiar composition. But on the whole he has realized the subject with a freshness and originality founded on actual observation of nature quite as much as on knowledge of artistic traditions. The tendency of such observation in the present case, where an unusual variety of

elements had to be combined, turned naturally towards picturesqueness of effect.¹ The chariot of Apollo is represented in actual perspective. The tendency of artistic tradition was towards beauty of form, with only a necessary amount of action and incident, such as we see in the friezes of the Parthenon and Theseion. But here action and incident have the upper hand. Beauty of form is only present in some of the types of the figures. It is never followed out in details, while in action and incident there is an overwhelming detail of observation. The male figures, with a few exceptions, are of an ordinary type, being in fact regarded more as vehicles of action than as artistic individualities. These exceptions show, what is otherwise fairly evident, that the artist had been well trained in anatomy, though often negligent in displaying his knowledge. The same is true of the Centaurs. The infants are as nearly amorphous as could be, and are obviously introduced for the purpose of effect at first sight. The Lapith women and the Amazons, on the contrary, are types of a race that has been amply favoured by nature, large in mould and simple in expression. It is true that the simplicity of expression here and in the temple sculptures of Olympia may be traced directly to a want of artistic refinement, which from its coinciding with a want of actual refinement in the persons represented becomes more or less unobjectionable, and even admirable at times. But the sculptor of the Phigaleian frieze, though counting on this accidental advantage in regard to form, has shown in not a few places that he had been well trained in this branch of his art. He has shown also abundantly in his draperies and other accessories, that he was qualified to render them with perfect

¹ Overbeck (*Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. i. p. 455) concludes that we may suppose the frieze to have been pictorially designed and then transferred to marble. Both composi-

tion and execution he would refer (p. 457) to Arcadian artists, working perhaps under the influence of the Athenian architect, Iktinos.

freedom and skill. In these respects he differs from the sculptors at Olympia, and approaches those of Athens in and immediately after the time of Pheidias. He may be said to combine and exaggerate both styles. He could have learned the Pheidian manner so far as he employs it hardly elsewhere than in Athens; and if the Olympian style, with its largeness and inequality of form, its picturesqueness of action and incident, had its origin in the paintings of Polygnotos, Athens again was the most likely of all places in which he could have imbibed so much of it as he makes use of. The subjects of his frieze had before his day presented a fascination for Athenian art, in painting as well as in sculpture. The armour and costume are Athenian. Even in some cases, as in that of the bearded armed Greek in slab 19, the type of figure is obviously Athenian.

Pheidias was, no doubt, supreme in Athens. But though he eclipsed, he did not therefore extinguish, other schools of sculpture. Least of all is he likely to have extinguished the peculiar influence of large and simple forms by which he himself appears to have benefited in the paintings of the school of Polygnotos. Where he succeeded, others may well have failed in confining this influence within the true limits of sculpture, particularly under the temptation of bas-relief with its apparent relationship to painting. We can understand that artists working in this manner found little favour in Athens, and may even suppose that Alkamenes threw far less of it into the sculptures he executed there than in those of Olympia. To judge by the sculptures which have survived it would even seem that this manner had been banished to remote places like Olympia, Phigaleia, Sicily and Xanthos in Lycia. But though the works of this school are found outside of Athens, it does not follow that they were not inspired there, the earliest of them little, the later much, under the influence of Pheidias. It is in this way that the Phigaleian frieze becomes intelligible with



SLAB OF FRIEZE FROM PHIGALEIA.

its motives of composition sometimes derived directly from Athenian sculpture, sometimes founded on a picturesque observation of form, action, and incident, its Athenian details of armour and costume, its pictorial regard to effect rather than to beauty of individual form, with yet enough regard for the latter to seize on large types of beings, such as prevail in the early red-figure vases, and may be assumed to have prevailed in the paintings of Polygnotos. Pheidias himself, if we may judge from what has been handed down of his works, was no lover of scenes of combat and war. On the contrary, he startles us with his scenes of peace, as on the Parthenon frieze, the base of Athena and the base of Zeus, where formerly we were accustomed to strife and conflict. Probably the public taste of his time was as little prepared for this change as were the artists, and probably, therefore, these latter would have no difficulty in finding encouragement to reproduce the old class of subjects.

Notwithstanding the mistake in the length of the frieze, it is not impossible that the architect Iktinos, an Athenian familiar with Pheidias and his manner, may have provided or held himself responsible for the design. The beauty of the temple is associated, so far as we know, with Iktinos alone ; and though it is always possible that the style of the frieze may have been revolting to his taste, yet the contrary is the more likely to have been the case when we recognize the existence at Athens of a school of sculpture such as we have just described. It has even been supposed that he designed it himself. Nor is there in reality much improbability in this, considering the interchange of the functions of architect and sculptor which existed in antiquity.¹

¹ There are three marble slabs, the property of Mr. Henry Green of Patras, which have been copied from slabs 15, 17, and 19 of the

Phigaleian frieze. For some time there was a question whether they may not have been ancient copies, in which case they would be of

From the few fragments that remain of the metopes¹ there is little to be derived, either as regards the subject or style. Part of one metope retains the torso of a maenad with krotala in her right hand, as if ready for the dance. Part of another shows us a female figure playing on the lyre, who, from the gorgoneion on her breast and helmet on her head, might be taken for Athena. Of a third metope we have a draped female figure, apparently repelling someone whose hand is visible round her neck. The others are less recognisable. In point of style the artist is more subdued than in the frieze: his treatment of drapery is softer, and in some places betrays a study of the modulations as well as the principal forms of the body underneath it. Yet with these differences the hand that modelled the metopes was doubtless the same that modelled the frieze. Of the acrolithic statue in the temple, only part of a foot, fragments of two hands, and a small part of the head were found, and of these it is unnecessary to make any remark.

considerable interest, for this reason among others, that in two places they present us with parts of the design which has been broken off and lost in the original. It is argued, however, and apparently with justice, that in these places the Patras slabs are specially poor, even reproducing things that could not have been in the original. This, and the peculiarly obnoxious border round the slabs, have led to their

being determined to be modern. See Treu, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 59. These three slabs are published in the *Mittheilungen d. Inst. in Athen*, v. pl. 15; see also *ibid.* iii. p. 68, and vi. p. 306.

¹ These fragments are engraved in Blouet's *Expédition Scientifique de Morée*, pl. 23, and in Stackelberg, *Apollo-Tempel zu Bassae*, pl. 30.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE TEMPLE OF ATHENA NIKE, THE ERECHTHEUM, &C.

Date of Temple of Nike—the frieze—execution, composition, subject—the Balustrade—subject of the reliefs—style and execution—influence of the sculptures of the Parthenon—development of a new style—The Erechtheum—Caryatides—examination of Caryatid in the British Museum—fragments of frieze—the sculptors employed on it—sepulchral reliefs—Temple of Zeus at Agrigentum.

THE temple of Athena Nike stands close to the south flank of the Propylaea at Athens, and occupies the small natural eminence there, from which, according to tradition, Aegeus threw himself when he saw the black sails of his son Theseus approaching. The lofty platform or bastion (*pyrgos*) on which the temple is erected is made to range on the north side with the Propylaea, with which it is in this respect at least obviously contemporary. The temple itself, however, stands at a different angle, and at first sight is so far out of accord with the lines of the Propylaea as to suggest that it was an older building, and that Mnesikles, the architect of the Propylaea, had not been able to bring it into harmony with his plan farther than by altering the north face of the bastion on which it stands. Not a few have believed it to be older than the Parthenon and to date from the time of Kimon, holding it in fact to have been erected to commemorate his famous victory at the mouth of the Eurymedon, B.C. 466–5.¹ They

¹ Ross (Schaubert and Hansen), *Akropolis von Athen* (1839), p. 9; Leake, *Topography of Athens*, i. p. 533; Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1862, p. 260, and compare *Mittheilungen d. Inst. in Athen*, 1876, p. 279.

would admit that the alteration of the bastion and the execution of the reliefs which surmount it belong to the time of the Propylaea, B.C. 437 to B.C. 432, or even to a later period. But recent investigations on the spot go to prove that both the temple and bastion in their present state were planned and erected in immediate connection with the building of the Propylaea, though apparently not till towards the close of that undertaking, about the year B.C. 432, that is to say, six years or so after the completion of the Parthenon.

A temple to Athena Nike or Nike Apteros,¹ the Wingless Victory, as she was also called, could hardly have been meant to celebrate any one victory. As such it would have been a monument rather than a temple, and though some specific victory may well have been the immediate occasion of its being erected, we must guard against searching among its sculptured decorations for indications of any particular battle or series of battles.²

But the principal supporter of the Kimonian theory has been Benndorf in his *Festschrift* (1879), to which I have already referred in Greek Sculpture before Pheidias, p. 184. At p. 38 he cites the passage of Nepos in which the word *ornata* is used where *munita* might have been expected, if Kimon had only strengthened the south wall of the akropolis. But *ornare* may there have been used with a sense of its original meaning "to arm." Compare Aufrecht, *Rhein. Mus.*, 1882, p. 484. It is only fair to say that Benndorf's *Festschrift* was published previous to the recent investigations of L. Julius (*Mittheilungen d. Inst. in Athen*, 1876, p. 216, pl. 12) and R. Bohn, first in Kekulé's *Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike* (1881), p. 28, and afterwards in his own elaborate work, *Die Propyläen der Akropolis zu Athen*, p. 29 and p. 31. Both these technical authorities agree in connecting the erection of the temple with the

completion of the Propylaea about B.C. 432. For an account of the various excavations on the site, see the work of Kekulé just referred to. These excavations began in 1833. Lord Elgin had previously removed four slabs of the frieze which are now in the British Museum and are engraved, *Mus. Marbles*, ix. pls. 7-10. They are marked I. K. O. G. in Ross's *Akropolis von Athen*, pls. 11-12. For a reconstruction of the temple, see Lebas, *Voy. Archéologique, Architecture*, pls. 2-3.

¹ Pausanias calls her Nike Apteros, ii. 30, 2; iii. 15, 5; v. 26, 5. Compare Kekulé, *Balustrade*, p. 5, for the vindication of this name of the temple.

² The contrary method of assuming a specific victory to have been the base from which the artist began and the variations from realism which he displays to have been due to his artistic sense, is followed for example by Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd Edit. i. p. 365, who

It would be the artist's duty to illustrate in general terms victories by sea and land, battles with Persians, and even between Greeks, so far at least as actual knowledge could carry him. On this principle there is nothing in the sculptures to determine their date. But in the spirit with which the subject is rendered, there may be much undoubtedly. It is to this, along with the evidence of style and execution, that the decision must ultimately be referred with every deference to the architectural conclusion that the temple had been erected about B.C. 432.

Of the frieze of the temple three sides are occupied with battle scenes. The fourth, which constitutes the east or principal front, is devoted to a peaceful assembly of deities, now unfortunately beyond identification individually.¹ In the Theseion frieze we have observed the presence of deities in the middle of combats. In the Parthenon frieze we have seen them in greater numbers, occupying the most conspicuous place of all, and apparently controlling by their invisible presence the whole tone of the procession. And now, when we find them

accepts the battle of Plataeæ, where Greeks fought against Persians and Greeks, as the most suitable occasion, there being in fact just these several elements in the combats on the frieze. Kekulé, in his earlier work, *Die Balustrade der Athena Nike* (1869), p. 39, adopted as probable this theory of the battle of Plataeæ for the frieze, while for the reliefs of the Balustrade, which he regarded as more recent, he would have preferred the battles of Abydos and Kyzikos and the plundering of Byzantium from which Alkibiades returned B.C. 407. But in his larger and more recent work, *Reliefs an der Balustrade* (1881), while still holding to about that date, though with a strong desire to move it backward as near as possible to the date of the Parthenon, he says nothing of

any special battle or series of battles (p. 22).

¹ Ross (*Akropolis von Athen*, p. 12) makes a series of more or less probable conjectures. According to him the figure seated on a throne to the left, almost in the centre of the frieze, is Zeus. On the left of this figure he counts Athena with shield on her arm, Poseidon seated on a rock, Aphrodite and Ares, Dionysos and two Charites, three Muses, and a winged Nike between two female figures. On the right of Zeus, Apollo between Leto and Artemis, Asklepios and Hygieia, Hera seated with Iris standing before her and a female figure standing behind her. Ross supposes that altogether there are from 4 to 6 figures missing from the front frieze.

still more conspicuously possessed of the whole front of the Nike frieze, it is natural to suppose that the artist has developed to its full extent the idea which he found in these older sculptures with the view of impressing on the spectator a sense of the intimate connection that existed between this assembly of deities and the turmoil of battle around them. In the conception of the scene there would be no separations of space. It is the form of the temple with its four sides and the force of artistic traditions that make these separations necessary. To regain the artistic unity of the whole is the aim of the uniformity in subject and treatment which the several sides display. It was easy to suppose that the gods looked on at war and gave the victory. They occupy the spectator's mind while he gazes on the battle scene, and awaken a wider range of thoughts. On the other hand, it would be a natural tendency of this method of representation to neglect, or, at least, not to strive to the utmost towards the invention of, incidents which would of themselves touch the true chord in the breast of the spectator. That may be the reason why such compositions do not recur in later art, where so much value was attached to the expressiveness of incident. But the Nike frieze cannot be said to suffer from neglect of this kind. It has abundance of touching motives, though undoubtedly they are subdued in tone as compared with those of the Phigaleian frieze. In this latter respect, and in the spirit of the composition as a whole, the direct influence of the Parthenon frieze cannot be denied.

From its unusually small dimensions, the Nike frieze demanded a minuteness of execution which was unnecessary in that of the Parthenon (see Pl. XVI.). The bodies of the combatants are not only carefully and accurately, but incisively, articulated, conveying the impression that the artist had worked against the difficulties inherent to the small scale of his figures. Yet he has kept admirably the balance between exact minuteness

and fine sensibility to the beauty of form, showing that precision and detail were not a weakness on his part, but a necessity of the dimensions imposed on him. The metopes of the Parthenon were well calculated to have served him as models of precision and beauty combined. His draperies, where they flow with the wind of movement, present a close parallel to those of the west frieze of the Parthenon, no less than a contrast with the florid agitation of those of Phigaleia. Where they cling to and obey the form, they are rendered with great truthfulness and refinement; but it is the truthfulness of skill and knowledge derived from the Parthenon, rather than of poetic inspiration. It is in composition that the artist excels; first in the alternation of pause and tumult, and secondly in the management of groups which sometimes may be said to surpass in intricacy everything else that has survived from ancient sculpture. In one of the four slabs, for example, now in the British Museum,¹ there is a most unusual concentration of struggle over two Greeks fallen or falling close beside each other. Yet every point in the composition tells with the perfection of clearness. With scenes of this description alternate such simple passages as the pursuit of one combatant by another. The tendency of the composition is to fall into groups of six or seven figures, and that without reference to the length of the slabs. It is a tendency which lends variety to the scene.

The subject of the frieze appears to be, as we have said, a generalization of the wars in which Athens had been engaged and victorious. Apart from other reasons, it can be no actual battle-scene where a trophy is already erected before the engagement is ended, as on one of the slabs.² Naturally the enemies are chiefly Persians,

¹ Engraved in *Museum Marbles*, ix. pls. 7-10.

² This is on one of the slabs in the British Museum, on which is represented throughout a battle of

Greek against Greek. It was probably only in such battles that a trophy was thought of as a rule. (Ross, pl. 11, fig. i).

with only a very few Greeks, and these from our point of view not necessarily allies of the Persians. Nor are these Orientals very specially characterised as Persians. They are more like Amazons and Scythians.¹ In point of fact they are neither exactly Amazons nor Persians, but artistic generalizations of the Oriental enemies against whom the Greeks had fought victoriously.² It is worthy of notice that, with one exception,³ only those figures that lie dead on the battle-field wear the full Persian dress enveloping the whole form from head to foot. The others, where a display of form is necessary to the action in which they are engaged, wear the short chiton usual in figures of Amazons. It is an instance of artistic exigency, and an illustration of the freedom accorded to artists. Again it may be taken as an observation of actual fact that the wounded Persians are left to die on the battle-field a grimly expressed death such as was attributed to barbarians generally. When a Greek falls there is a struggle to save and carry him off. Only in one case where it is a fight of Greeks against Greeks is one of the wounded left quite dead on the field. It seems to be meant as a characterization of race that the Oriental succumbs readily to a wound and dies in dejection, while the Greek fights to his last breath.

The original length of the frieze is given at 27 ft. 2 in. on each side, the breadth at 18 ft. 3 in. The arrangement of the existing slabs on the east and west fronts may be regarded as certain, the former representing, as has been said, an assembly of deities, the latter a battle between Greeks and Greeks, of which there are two

¹ Ross, *Akropolis von Athen*, p. 15, points out this resemblance to Amazons and Scythians; but, being bent on finding a special war as the subject illustrated on the frieze, he gives them up.

² Herodotus, ix. 107, says it was the greatest reproach to a Persian

to call him "worse than a woman," *γυναικὸς κακίω*.

³ The figure on the extreme right of one of the slabs in the British Museum (Ross, pl. 12, fig. o) of which only one leg remains. This figure is being pursued by a Greek.



4.



1.



2.



3.

RELIEFS OF NIKE TEMPLE. 1, 2, FROM THE FRIEZE. 3, 4, FROM THE BALUSTRADE.

slabs in the British Museum, making together the greater part of its extent. A fragment at Athens with two warriors nearly completes its length at the right-hand corner. This fragment is sculptured on its return face and therefore begins the south frieze at its western angle. In a similar manner the east end of the south frieze and the west end of the north frieze are determined. But in arranging the other slabs there is some difficulty. The corner slab at the west end of the south frieze has an equestrian figure among its combatants, and if this characteristic is to guide us in selecting the other slabs for this side, we may include among them the two in the British Museum. But while in one of these two slabs the direction of the horsemen is like that of the corner slab just mentioned, from left to right, the direction of the other is from right to left. We must therefore adopt the principle of a balance or contrast between the two ends of the scene, instead of the principle of a continuous flow of movement as on the sides of the Parthenon frieze. It is true that this balance or resposion of parts would correspond to the east and west friezes of the Parthenon on a small scale. But the smallness of the scale is an obstacle. Again, there are more slabs with horsemen than can find room on one side. It has been proposed to separate off those which do not clearly represent Persians, and to assign them to the north side. This, however, implies a sharp distinction between the subjects of the two friezes, though not between the general artistic effect. On the other hand, if we separate all the slabs with horsemen moving in one direction and assign them to the south frieze, all those moving in an opposite direction to the north frieze, the result will be that one side will answer to the other with the general character of duplicates such as we see on the sides of the Parthenon frieze. So far we may be said to have a distinct artistic gain : but there is no certainty in the matter.

From the narrow frieze of the temple (1 ft. 6 in.) to

the more than twice as broad Balustrade with its reliefs forming a rich crown to the bastion, is a change both of subject and treatment which requires explanation. The subject, so far as can be ascertained, consisted of a long series of figures of Winged Victory¹ occupied with sacrifice or with booty and trophies of war. Here and there among them may have been repeated the figure of Athena Nike, the goddess of the temple, seated as she appears in one fragment. Probably the intention of the design was to represent the stage of home-coming in triumph after the battles generalized on the frieze, and to indicate the days of freedom which the oracle declared would be brought about by Zeus and Potnia Nike as the result of Salamis.² In this sense it is no doubt appropriate to the temple. But hitherto the introduction of groups of Victories in sculpture would seem to have been relegated to secondary positions, such as the legs of the throne of Zeus at Olympia; and it can hardly be said that a long series of repetitions of one and the same figure, however much varied in action, could be other than decorative in character. It is true that we find in some degree a repetition of one and the same figure in earlier art, as in the metopes of the Theseion and of Olympia, and on the red-figure kylikes with the labours of Theseus. But in the metopes there is a real isolation of the figures, and on the vases the effect of isolation is obtained by the roundness of their shape which on the whole prevents more than one group being fully seen at a time. It could and perhaps should be argued that the Victories so often repeated on the Balustrade are not distinct personalities like Herakles or Theseus, but only vague personifications which gain rather than lose on the spectator by accumulation, as a dance of Maenads would gain. Nevertheless it is not a profound idea. It is the idea of an artist who trusts

¹ A scholiast of Aristophanes, *Aves*, 574, says that Nike was first made winged by the Chian sculp-

tor Archermos or, as others related, by the Thasian painter Aglaophon.

² Herodotus, viii. 77.

to his great powers of invention in action and attitude. He has succeeded admirably so far, and if we remember that his object was principally to decorate the bastion with only such reference as was necessary to the temple which stands on it, we must admit also that his idea was worthy of the occasion. The bastion was itself a solid monument of "defence and defiance." The reliefs on the Balustrade belong to it, not to the temple.

As compared with the frieze of the temple, in which the balance of light and shade is an extremely beautiful element in the composition, the reliefs of the Balustrade for the most part confine this kind of effect to the surface of each individual figure. Instead of being an element in the composition as a whole, it is a prominent quality in the rendering of each figure, and the result in some cases, as in the Victory in advance of the cow which is being led to slaughter (Pl. XVI.), has far too much flicker, and restlessness of light and shadow, to be agreeable. From the nature of the subject there could not, as we have said, be any profound composition, and from the want of a profound composition it was necessary apparently to concentrate effect on the individual members of the design. The female forms are of a type that abounds in charms, the attitudes display an excess of grace, the draperies are rich in themselves yet contrived so as to reveal largely the forms underneath and to emphasize the movement of the limbs. Form, attitude, and drapery, all combined in and confined to one figure at a time, these were the three aims of the sculptor, and it is hard to see how it could have been otherwise with the subject prescribed to him. Because these aims differ in important respects from those of the frieze, it does not follow absolutely that the same artist could not and did not execute both works. But probability would suggest another and perhaps a later artist. In the Balustrade it is impossible not to recognize in the forms of the Victories a sensual element which we have not hitherto met with in Greek sculpture, and certainly

not in the frieze. It cannot be said that the old dignity of outline is lost ; yet it is toned down or even frittered away by contact with details of drapery, and seems to be preserved more from tradition than from a just appreciation of its force. The tendency is to produce a form which shall in the first place be attractive by the harmonious beauty of its various parts, rather than commanding by the simplicity and massiveness of the whole. Enough, however, of these qualities is retained to show that the age of Praxiteles had not yet arrived.

The best known of these figures is the Victory, posed momentarily in the act of adjusting her sandal, as it is usually said (Pl. XVI.).¹ Whether this is so or not her right foot is raised to within a hair's breadth of throwing her off her balance, and her right hand is stretched down to it. The action can hardly be other than one which has occurred in the course of her movement forward. It has all the character of an interruption to her movement. Not only would her balance fail in another instant, but her body is thrown round considerably, as if on the verge of staggering. To display the charms of form and drapery it is an admirable attitude. Yet with all our admiration for the figure it is necessary to bear in mind that a sculptor, though he is bound to seize only an instant of time in the action which he represents, is not on the other hand free to accommodate his wants by reducing the whole action to instantaneousness, unless he is prepared to have his work judged solely by its charms and graces of form. That appears to be his position in this case, and it holds good also of the not unfrequent bronze statuettes of a nude Aphrodite in much the same attitude.²

¹ On a marble relief in Munich we have a figure obviously copied from this Nike, but with the difference that she has no wings and is occupied in lifting between her toes the end of a roll lying on the ground. This relief is engraved

in Kekulé's *Reliefs an der Balustrade*, p. 9. Notwithstanding this, there can hardly be a doubt that the Nike is really stooping to adjust her sandal.

² Several of these statuettes are to be seen in the British Museum,

Again, in the Victory standing in profile to the left in the act apparently of fastening a trophy, there is noticeable a sensual delight in the fashioning of her limbs. Both hands have been raised to the trophy, and a difficulty thus arose as to how to deal with her himation. It could have been left to fall over her shoulders and arms, and though this would have interfered with her freedom, and certainly would have largely concealed her forms, I doubt whether it would not have been so employed on the Parthenon frieze had a similar occasion presented itself. The alternative was to wrap the himation round the lower limbs, and to keep it from falling by pressing the ends between the legs. That is what occurs on the Victory in question. It is a temporary attitude and at the same time a strain on the limbs which gives them sufficient prominence to render effective the attention bestowed on them, but does not contribute to impress the spectator with more than a feeling that he has witnessed a very skilful expedient, so far as composition is concerned.

Swayed by a love of the human form, part by part, the sculptor has hesitated at no degree of boldness in attitude which would bring out its charms. His skill in the treatment of drapery is that of a master in knowledge and detail. He is too conscious of his mastery, and may be said even to parade it over and above where it is strictly beneficial. It is undoubtedly beneficial, for instance, in the sandal-tying Nike, where it is employed to enrich by a beautiful system of folds what would otherwise have been a comparatively poor display of form in the lower limbs. Nor is it to be denied that

one of them being a particularly fine example of sensual Greek Sculpture. It was found at Parameythia in Epirus and is engraved, but very inadequately, in Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, pl. 627, No. 1354*a*. It is more recent than the Balustrade Nike. In all these

figures it is to be noticed that the left arm of the goddess is thrown up and the foot which is raised turned round in front, these two actions combining to establish her balance very effectively, while on the Balustrade no such means are employed.

the general effect of the draperies is to enrich the forms, though there occur instances of excess, as in the Victory in advance of the cow. It is not only that the profusion of fine folds produces an unpleasant flicker of light and shade which barely escapes leading to confusion in the different parts of the dress, but every fold is so minutely traced home to its origin in the action of the figure as to leave the impression that nothing more complete of its kind could be achieved, the impression, in short, of a *tour de force*. The action of the figure on the drapery proceeds from the right, and it seems to have been to avoid a too sharp profile on that side that an end of drapery is made to fall from the left arm in a series of agitated folds perfectly true to the action, as everything always is, yet suggesting an excess of skill, for this reason that the action itself is manifestly studied with a view to all these effects, rather than for the business which the Nike, so to speak, has in hand. The exquisite beauty of her feet is heightened by contrast with her skirt. Beautiful also are the arms of the Victories wherever they have survived, and no less so the one hand of the fragment of what must have been one of the most lovely figures in the whole composition, a Nike standing placidly with her left hand on her hip.¹ There is no complete head, nor enough of anyone to judge by as to style.

It is fortunate as regards the rendering of animal forms that one group has been preserved at least to an extent sufficient to suggest a comparison with the Parthenon frieze. It is the group of a Nike holding back a cow destined for sacrifice. The comparison is instructive, first because the cow is sculptured with a degree of flatness which recalls though it differs from the Parthenon cows, and secondly because the attitude of the Nike is obviously studied for effect. A rock is made to arise very conveniently that she may plant a

¹ Engraved in Kekulé, *Reliefs an der Balustrade*, pl. 4, N.

foot against it to get a momentary and incisive pull back at the cow. No doubt it is true that the two youths tying their sandals on the west frieze of the Parthenon also find convenient rocks to raise a foot on. But there the action is not a momentary one, and besides, the scene is one where such stones would be expected for mounting the horses and other purposes. In the Nike group the rock is too manifestly an artistic convenience. As such it is in keeping with what we have already pointed out as a characteristic of these sculptures—a studied effect of instantaneousness in actions which are themselves already instantaneous.

The treatment of female forms and drapery, as we have here viewed it, may be described as a natural development from the female figures in the east pediment of the Parthenon, substituting for their simplicity and dignity an expression of sensual grace and beauty, for their masterly reserve of technical skill a masterly profusion of it. The Victories of the Balustrade gain in attractiveness and charm what they lose in impressiveness and grandeur. A development so marked as to become almost a new style, or at least to lay a solid foundation for a new style, of sculpture cannot be supposed to have originated except under powerful influence, not so much perhaps of one sculptor as of a habit or manner gradually introduced among Athenian sculptors in general. The largeness of style which characterized Pheidias and his pupils had had its day. It had swamped the older love of observing patiently the possible beauties of the human form as in itself a sufficient end and aim of sculpture. But time brought its revenge, and, with new powers gained through the influence of Pheidias, sculptors again turned to the end—all of the human form and its closest associations. At the dawn of this new era we may place the reliefs on the Balustrade. Not so the frieze of the temple. With its extraordinary power of composition, its simplicity of form, and its combination of precision and beauty of

execution, it is a true development of the Parthenon sculptures at the hands of an artist, who, though he was no Pheidias, was yet imbued with his spirit so far as his abilities would go. He may never have been in the strict sense a pupil of Pheidias. It will be enough to say that he was a younger contemporary and an Athenian. The sculptor of the Balustrade is among those who founded or prepared the way for a new school.

The temple of Athena Polias, better known as the Erechtheum, had suffered with the other buildings of the acropolis during the Persian invasion. A new structure had become necessary, but apparently not urgent so long at least as the adjoining works of the Parthenon and perhaps also the Propylaea were in progress. All that is certain as to date is that in the year B.C. 409 there were still a considerable number of details incomplete in the new Erechtheum, including the frieze or part of it.¹ The architecture of the temple is of the Ionic order, and full of difficult problems arising from the complicated formation of the acropolis at this point, and the manner in which this formation was taken advantage of by the architect or architects.²

¹ A Greek inscription, now in the British Museum, dated B.C. 409, contains a report of what was then incomplete, drawn up by a commission appointed for the purpose. This inscription is published in the *Anc. Gr. Inscriptions* of the Brit. Museum, No. 35, with a full statement by Mr. Newton of the many architectural problems involved in a comparison of the inscription with the temple as it now exists. Since then those problems have been repeatedly investigated by a number of competent authorities, among whom may be mentioned, Fergusson in the *Transactions of the R. Inst. of Brit. Architects*, 1876; Michaelis in the *Mittheilungen d. Inst. Arch.*

in Athen, ii. p. 15; and lastly Rangabé in the *Mittheilungen d. Inst. Arch. in Athen*, 1882, p. 258, pl. 10.

Besides the inscription here mentioned, five other fragments have been found referring to moneys paid on the works of the Erechtheum, including sums paid for parts of the frieze, the date assigned to this last item being B.C. 408. See *Corpus Inscr. Att.* i., No. 324. All the inscriptions referring to the building of this temple are collected by Michaelis in his edition of Jahn's *Pausaniæ Descriptio Arcis Athenarum*, p. 44 fol.

² Rangabé, *loc. cit.*, p. 272, gives two architects, Archilochos men-

The sculptures consist of the six statues of the south-west portico, and a series of fragments of the frieze. Statues taking the place of ordinary columns, as in this portico, present a novel idea. Yet clearly it was not a mere artistic fancy. These statues illustrate what was one of the chief if not itself the chief association of the Erechtheum. Every year when the night arrived on which the two young maidens (Arrhephori) chosen to assist the priestess of Athena and to dwell with her in the precincts of the temple were dismissed from their office, they each received from the priestess a burden, the contents of which was unknown to her and to them. This burden they carried on their heads to an underground place near the temple of Aphrodite in the gardens, where they exchanged it for some other secret object, and on returning were relieved by their successors. This is what Pausanias¹ tells, as expressly wonderful in connection with the temple, and it is difficult to suppose that in telling it he was unconscious of these statues. At all events they illustrate an important rite associated with the temple. At the same time it is not here argued that it was for this particular purpose that the attitude and position of these Caryatides, as they are called, were first invented. It can be proved, for example, that female figures in this attitude and position had been employed on a small scale before then, for the supports of bronze mirrors, and perhaps in many other services of the minor arts.² But it may well be

tioned in the fragment c. i. A. i. No. 324 (cf. Rangabé, *Ant. Hellén.* i. No. 57, line 9b); and [Phi]lokles from the preamble of the inscription in the British Museum already mentioned. It is not perhaps perfectly certain that Philokles was architect of the building, since the fact of his being styled *ἀρχιτέκτων* may only imply that he was a skilled assessor to the commission of which he is here given as a member.

¹ i. 27, 4. ἃ δέ μοι θαυμάσαι μάλιστα

παρέσχεν, ἐστὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντας γνῶριμα, γράψω δὲ οἷα συμβαίνει.

² Among the bronzes of this description in the British Museum, four examples from Attica may be mentioned, all of an older date than the Caryatides of the Erechtheum, especially so the one from Sunium, which is very decidedly archaic. Two of these figures hold out a dove in the right hand, and for this as well as owing to the employment of them as mirror-

contended that it was the peculiarly appropriate rite just spoken of, which first suggested to a sculptor the employment of such figures on an ambitious scale. No doubt there were only four Arrhephori to be represented, the two who carried the sacred burden and two others employed in other services, while there are six statues. But it is to be remembered that seen from the front there are only four statues standing abreast, each with her burden on her head: seen from either side there are but two.¹

Of the six Caryatides, or Korae as they were styled officially, five remain in their original position. The sixth was removed by Lord Elgin, and is now in the British Museum (Pl. XVII.). All have suffered more or less, not so much perhaps as to interfere with a fair judgment of their artistic style, yet enough in one particular to destroy all evidence of how the sculptor had acquitted himself in a problem which must have presented considerable difficulty—the action of the arms and hands in a series of figures of one and the same type standing close beside each other. We have seen on the Nike Balustrade how a number of identical figures could be repeated with a most graceful effect. But here, on the Erechtheum, obedience to architectural laws had imposed identity of attitude as well as of type with a severity from which the sculptor could only escape by means of subtle modifications. He has helped himself for example, by an effective, though a very slight variety in the posture of the legs, three of the statues resting on the left and three on the right leg, this alternation being at the same time peculiarly

stands these figures are associated with Aphrodite. Two of the Museum specimens have figures of Eros floating above their heads. But it is probable that in general they would be called simply *Korae* as the Caryatides are called in the inscription referring to the Erech-

theum in the British Museum.

¹ The age of the Arrhephori was from seven to eleven years. Compare Aristophanes, *Lysist.*, 642. Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 183, doubts, because of the age, whether these statues could represent Arrhephori.



CARVATIID FROM ERECHTHEUM
(BRIT. MUS.)



MARBLE STATUE OF EROS, FROM ATHENS
(BRIT. MUS.)



TERRA-COTTA STATUETTE OF ATHENA, FROM CYPRUS
(BRIT. MUS.)

appropriate to the architectural functions of the figures.¹ But it would have been specially satisfactory to have known how he had managed the arms and hands, the possibility of variety of action being so much greater in them, and the possibility of artistic failure being no less than of success. Apparently one arm had been allowed to fall down by the side, the hand slightly advanced and holding forward an end of the mantle which falls down the back.² The other hand seems to have been extended in front from the elbow. More than this is not known.

In rendering the burden carried on the heads of the Caryatides, a graceful compromise has been effected with architecture. Obviously a Doric capital would have offered the nearest approximation: but the temple itself was Ionic. The sculptor has chosen the general form of the Doric, but has enriched it with strictly Ionic details. He has shown by the thick braids of hair twined round their heads that the Koræ were prepared to carry burdens. By means of rich masses of hair drawn back from the temples, he has given the upper part of their heads a degree of architectural roundness of outline which carries downward the outline of the capital, and perhaps assists in giving simplicity to the face. The drapery of these figures seems to rise from the ground on which they stand like the flutings of a Doric column. There is in fact a strong Doric element throughout them, recalling, by the abundance of vertical lines and the massive forms, not only the columns but the pediment figures of the Parthenon. It is true that the difference of execution and of conception in many points is greatly to the disadvantage of the Erechtheum. Yet it can hardly be denied that these statues stand worthily opposite to the Parthenon, proclaiming openly

¹ The two types of figures are engraved in Stuart's *Ant. of Athens*, ii. pl. 19.

² Visconti, *Op. Varie*, iii. p. 156; *Museum Marbles*, ix. p. 20; Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 184.

their indebtedness to it.¹ We may say then that the sculptor had caught his inspiration for the type of his statues from Pheidias, but that he is himself responsible for the shortcomings of detail.

It is characteristic of the decline in carefulness of detail which had set in alongside of the preparations for a new school, that the drapery at the backs of these statues is sculptured with marked irregularity and in some cases with very obvious neglect, as in one figure for instance, where the folds are little more than sketched in on a flat surface. In the front there may be no actual default; but, taking the statue in the British Museum (Pl. XVII.)² as an example of the rest, we may point out that the folds of the *diploïdion* on her breast, instead of being defined with purity of line and form, represent rather a casual and to some extent a mean aspect of drapery, superadded to a main disposition of folds in itself artistically pure. Nor again are the two long tresses which fall on each shoulder what would be expected from the inspiration of Pheidias. They may be assigned to the sculptor's originality, with their defects of taste. But the charm with which he has rendered the soft profuse wavy hair, drawn back from the brow and temples, would redeem a greater fault. Less of the waviness and softness might perhaps be acceptable on another occasion. Doubtless it is to be remembered in such criticism of details that the sculptor also had his occasion, that his statue was to him a harmonious embodiment of one idea, and that in condemning a part we condemn the whole as such from a particular point of view. But if in this case the point of view is rightly taken from the age of Pheidias on the

¹ Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, p. 374, places these sculptures in the first rank, and indeed the general opinion is in that direction. He notes (p. 378) very justly the advantage they derive from the high stylobate on which they are

placed, an advantage particularly beneficial to them in their relation to the architecture.

² Engraved in *Museum Marbles*, ix. pl. 6, and in many other more familiar works.

ground that the sculptor has evidently been inspired by it, and if whatever of novelty he has introduced is not sufficient to constitute a new departure but only a working towards a new ideal, he must submit to be charged with attempting to combine what is not yet in his hands ripe for combination. That seems to be the position of the sculptor of the Erechtheum statues. It is not, however, a position without great merit, both as regards the extent to which he has preserved the largeness and simplicity of the Pheidian type, and the invention with which he has adapted it to the architectural problem.

Of the frieze only a number of fragments remain. The figures on it were sculptured in white¹ marble and attached by cramps to a background of dark Eleusinian stone. So strange a proceeding would be difficult to account for if it were not for the fact that in the architecture of the Propylaea a course of this dark marble had already played a conspicuous part. Probably the success of it there had led to a new and more questionable experiment. Still it would be rash to judge the effect adversely, when so little remains and when it is impossible for us to know but that the experiment had been in a measure forced upon the artist by the visible decay of the colours employed in older friezes to detach the figures from the background.

With so few fragments² there seems to be no possibility of ascertaining the subject of the frieze farther than that it had in common with that of the Parthenon represented a peaceful scene. Such at least is the

¹ Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, p. 341, calls it Parian marble, but I believe that Friederichs (*Bausteine*, p. 185) and others are right when they call it Pentelic.

² Lebas, *Voyage Archéologique*, *Mon. Fig.* pls. 15—17, gives 16 fragments. Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. i. p. 361, gives 10 of them.

Von Sybel, in his *Sculpturen zu Athen* (1881), p. 361, catalogues 62 fragments, many of them being, however, very small. The fullest illustration and the most accurate as to style is that in Schoene's *Gr. Reliefs*, pl. 1—4, in which 48 pieces are given.

impression conveyed by a number of female figures without special attributes seated, holding a child on their knees, or standing placidly, or a man draped as an ordinary citizen standing beside a boy who stoops towards the ground. This impression is confirmed by one of the fragmentary inscriptions already mentioned, which contains part of a list of the men employed to sculpture the frieze, with the prices paid to them for each part they executed, the several figures or groups being entered as "man leaning on staff beside altar," "youth beside a cuirass," "woman beside a chariot," "woman and child," and such like. Had these figures been mythological or legendary it can hardly be doubted but that they would have been identified as such in a document where accuracy was indispensable. A definite name, if it had been available, would have suited the purpose better than this form of circumlocution, and we cannot suppose the person who drew up the list to have been ignorant of the subject of the frieze, and of the identity of the figures in it if they had had any particular identity. We may take it then that the subject had been in some degree inspired by the frieze of the Parthenon.¹

The names of the sculptors mentioned in this inscription² are otherwise unknown, and from the manner in which they are described, merely as living in this or that

¹ Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, p. 381, thinks that the subject may have related to the myth of Erechtheus and Pandrosos, and seeks to identify the fragment of a female figure holding a naked boy across her lap as Pandrosos with the infant Erechtheus. But the evidence is hardly sufficient for this latter interpretation. The theory in general seems probable enough.

² *Corpus Ins. Att. i. No. 324*. The names here preserved are, Agathanor, Phyromachos, Praxias, Antiphanes, Mynnion, Soklos, and

Jasos. Of these Phyromachos occurs three times in different places, from which it might be concluded that the list had proceeded regularly round the frieze from figure to figure. But Schoene, *Gr. Reliefs*, p. 4, thinks that the order in which the names occur represents only the casual order in which the various pieces were delivered and paid for. It is possible, as he suggests (p. 5), that the Phyromachos of the inscription is the Pyromachos mentioned by Pliny, xxxiv., 80, *Pyromachi quadriga regitur ab Alcibiade*.

deme, it may be inferred that they were only skilled workmen employed to carry out the design of a superior artist. Had they been more than this, they would, it may be supposed, have commanded a higher price than an average of about forty-eight shillings for each figure. Nor would the figures have been distributed among them, as they appear to have been, without any connecting idea, even though such a distribution of parts was not unnatural when the figures were cut out separately in one kind of stone. Evidently there was at that time an abundance of talent of this order in Athens, much of which we may imagine to have been called into existence by the extensive works previously directed by Pheidias.

It may be said, then, that the sculptures of the Erechtheum represent the style of Pheidias in a later, perhaps the latest stage, in which it held out successfully against the tendency towards a new school manifest in the Nike balustrade.

The number of sculptors employed at piecework on the frieze of the Erechtheum implies a more extensive source of occupation than could have been found on public buildings alone. But there was at the same time a large demand for votive reliefs and sculptured tombstones, and it cannot be said that this was beneath the dignity of these artists, when in a subsequent age Praxiteles is known to have adorned a tomb at Athens with the figure of a soldier beside his horse.¹ Nor is the quality of some of the reliefs that have survived other than of a very high order, as for example the *stele* from Athens belonging to M. Sabouroff, or the two reliefs in the Villa Albani and the Museum of Naples, representing Orpheus, Eurydice and Hermes, and some others still in Athens,² which though at times careless in

¹ Pausanias, i. 2, 3.

² The Sabouroff relief is published in the Collection Sabouroff, pl. 6; the relief in the Villa Albani by Zoega, Bassirilievi, i. pl. 42: the Naples example in the Mus. Bor-

bon. x. pl. 62: another example in Paris (Winckelmann, Alt. Denkm. No. 85) is inscribed Amphion, Antiopa and Zethus, but does not seem to be so fine as the others.

Friederichs, Bausteine, No. 299,

execution equally breathe the spirit of the age of Pheidias. Or again we have the large and splendid relief from Eleusis, with three figures usually known as Demeter, Persephone, and Iackhos.¹ The solemnity and severe grace that pervade these figures have sometimes led to an impression of their being older than the Parthenon. But the largeness of style in the forms and draperies, the disposition of the figures and the flatness of the relief combine in asserting a contemporaneousness with Pheidias, notwithstanding some touches of archaism in the hair of Iackhos and Persephone. It is true that in the vast array of ancient tombstones now to be seen at Athens not many are of the Periklean age. But even supposing that more of this kind is yet to be recovered, we should be justified in assuming that all skilful hands had then been employed for the most part on public works and only afterwards released for private commissions.²

To pass from the free style of the Caryatides of the Erechtheum to the archaic mannerism of the Telamones of the temple of Zeus at Agrigentum in Sicily, is to perceive a difference which cannot be accounted for by lapse

says of the Albani relief that it cannot have been executed long after the Parthenon frieze, and in this he will probably command general consent. It has no inscribed names like the other two. These names have been added in later times to give a fictitious value to a more or less ordinary scene among tombstones.

For the reliefs still in Athens see for example Schoene, *Gr. Reliefs*, pl. 11, fig. 57, pl. 15, figs. 71-72. At p. 21 he mentions, as belonging to the 5th cent. B.C., figs. 50, 51, 52, 59, and 96 judged by the character of the inscriptions on them, and figs. 83, 84, and 97 judged by artistic style. The last mentioned, fig. 97, is quite worthy of the time of the Parthenon.

¹ Engraved in the *Mon. dell' Inst. Arch.*, vi. pl. 45; compare Welcker in the *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.*, 1860, p. 454, and Friederichs, *Bausteine*, No. 298. The relief is now in the National Museum at Athens.

² It is true, as Schoene, *Gr. Reliefs*, p. 21, points out, that the 4th cent. B.C. was the favourite age of the sculptured *stelae*. But though they degenerated rapidly after that period and though there are comparatively few of them from the 5th cent. B.C., it does not follow that in this earlier period the public taste for them may not have been only temporarily checked by the abundance of public works then proceeding.

of time, since both temples were as nearly as possible contemporary. The temple at Agrigentum was ready for the roof in B.C. 405, when there occurred a war with Carthage from which the town never after recovered sufficiently to complete the work.¹ From its dimensions it must have occupied in building a number of years² previous to that date, and may perhaps have been begun some time before the Erechtheum. But a few years of seniority do not account for the style of the Telamones, the less so when it is remembered that the sculptures of the pediments, so far as can be judged from the fragments, appear to be rendered with freedom of manner. Nor can these sculptures be supposed to have been completed and placed in position after the war, since they were executed on the back of the pediments, and therefore formed an integral part of the structure. We must conclude that a more rigid obedience to architectural functions than was the case in the Erechtheum had forced upon the sculptor of the Telamones a constrained archaic manner in keeping with their attitude as supporters of a heavy burden, but out of keeping with the massiveness of the forms in which the true style of his time is revealed.

These figures were ranged above the lower row of columns on each side of the interior of the cella taking the place of an upper row of columns in supporting the roof. They are nude male figures, and from their attitude are often named appropriately Atlantes after Atlas with his burden of the heavens. They are like columns even in their construction, being sculptured in twelve regular courses of stone one above the other.

¹ So states Diodorus, xiii. 82. It is to him that we owe the only ancient description of the temple that exists. It is only in very general terms that Polybius, ix. 27, refers to it.

² Cockerell (in vol. iv. of Kinard's edition of Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, p. 6) suggests 20 years. Mr. Watkiss Lloyd, Hist. of Sicily,

p. 161, says the temple was begun under Theron. For restorations of the temple see the remarks of Mr. Lloyd, *loc. cit.*, p. 162, Cockerell, *loc. cit.*, pls. 2-6; Serradifalco, *Ant. di Sicilia*, pls. 22 and 26; *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.*, 1838, p. 84; Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. i. p. 460.

The joints of these stones, however, though now visible enough, had been concealed by the coating of hard plaster which gave to the whole surface an appearance as of highly polished marble.¹ The figures are in some places free, but for the most part are engaged in the wall which assists them in carrying the roof. Pieces of several of them have been found, and one nearly entire has been put together.² It could not have been less than 25 feet in height originally. So far as can be judged they were all of one and the same strictly architectural type.

As regards the pediment sculptures it is known that they represented on the east front the Gigantomachia, and on the west the taking of Troy. But the few fragments that remain, though praised³ for their freedom of style, are wholly inadequate to convey a notion of the original compositions.

We have said that the architectural functions of the Telamones were calculated to force an archaic manner of treatment upon the sculptor. It should be added that it could only have done so on a sculptor familiar with the archaic manner. That a Sicilian sculptor had good reason to be familiar with it may be seen from the temples of Selinus. But that it should have retained sufficient hold upon him, when in Athens for example it had been fully abandoned, is a circumstance that may be compared in a measure with the combination of largeness of form and partially archaic treatment which we have seen in the sculptures at Olympia. On that occasion a relationship was suggested between Olympia and Sicily, such as would admit an artistic influence of the latter in this particular direction. The sculptures of Agrigentum would seem to confirm this suggestion.

¹ Cockerell, *loc. cit.* p. 5.

² Engraved as the frontispiece to Cockerell's restoration, *loc. cit.*: in Müller's *Denkmäler*, No. 102, and in many other places, including

Serradifalco, *Ant. di Sicilia*, pl. 25.

³ Cockerell, *loc. cit.* p. 5. He adds that the figures of the pediments had probably not exceeded 13 feet in height.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE NEREID MONUMENT OF XANTHOS IN LYCIA.

Sculptures of Nereid monument in British Museum—Date—Description—Subjects of the sculptures—The broad frieze—Comparison with frieze of Phigaleia—Pictorial influence—The narrow frieze—Pictorial effects—Reliefs in the pediment—Groups of the Akroteria—Statues in the intercolumniations—Style and execution—Comparison with the Nike of Olympia—Sculptures in Delos—Reliefs found at Gjölbashi in Lycia now in Vienna—Description—Influence of pictorial design of the age of Polygnotos.

THE sculptures of Olympia, the frieze of Phigaleia, and the Nike frieze at Athens, though differing largely one from the other, contain among them so many elements of style common also to the Nereid monument that they may fairly be regarded as affording the natural standard by which to judge it. Nowhere else, for example, among the remains of Greek sculpture, is there so direct an analogy to be found for the pronouncedly pictorial treatment of the broad frieze of the Nereid monument, or, indeed, of the narrow frieze no less. It is no question of pictorial influence in a general sense, but of that particular age of painting in which Polygnotos was the leader and Athens the centre. It is true that this particular age of painting would ordinarily be supposed to have entirely died out some time before these reliefs were thought of. As a matter of fact, however, the date of the reliefs and of the whole monument is, so far as historical records are concerned, involved in obscurity. On the one hand, it has been sought to identify this monument with the

almost unparalleled courage and devotion of the Xanthians in resisting, while they had life to resist,¹ the attack of Harpagos, the general of Cyrus, in the latter half of the sixth century, B.C. The new rulers and new population, partly Lycian and partly Persian, are supposed to have erected the building as a trophy to Harpagos and an acknowledgment of the resistance he met with. The scenes of battle represented on the friezes would not be against this view. It is impossible, however, that the style of the sculpture could have reached back to the sixth century, and accordingly this or that conjecture has been offered to explain how the erection of the monument might have been deferred to B.C. 500 or to a period immediately after B.C. 470.² On the other hand, it has been observed that a remarkable event in Lycian history was the capture of Telmessos, B.C. 375, and it has been proposed to regard the building as a monument of that victory.³ The subject of the sculptures may be held to be in keeping with this enterprise as much as with that of Harpagos, and thus

¹ Herodotus, i. 176, describes and praises this resistance of the Xanthians.

² Sir Charles Fellows, who discovered the monument and brought its remains to the British Museum, in his *Ionic Trophy Monument*, 1848, p. 12, and Mr. B. Gibson in the *Museum of Classical Antiquities*, i. (1851) p. 136, and p. 153, adopt the theory of a monument of Harpagos erected about 50 years after the event, *i.e.* about B.C. 500. Mr. E. Falkener, in the same volume, p. 280, concludes for the same period. Mr. Watkiss Lloyd, agreeing as to the purpose of the monument, takes a later date for its erection in the period "ensuing on the battle of the Eurymedon, B.C. 470," (*Xanthian Marbles*, 1845, p. 34). Birch, *Archæologia*, xxx. p. 196, approves the Harpagos theory. The most recent authority,

Furtwaengler, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1882, p. 357, assigns them to near the end of the 5th cent. B.C.

³ This appears to have been first proposed by Urlichs. It is adopted by Michaelis in the *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.*, 1875, p. 173. In this volume of the *Annali*, Michaelis gives a very elaborate examination of the question as to the reliefs of this monument, while in the previous volume (1874), p. 216, he discusses no less fully the statues. The statues are engraved for this memoir in the *Monumenti dell' Inst. Arch.*, x. pls. 11-12, the reliefs in the *Monumenti*, x. pls. 13-18, and in the *Annali*, 1875, pls. D-E. Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. ii. p. 158, adopts also the theory of Urlichs. Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, v. p. 247, suggested the war with Euagoras B.C. 387.

the question as to their date resolves itself into one of artistic style.

The Nereid monument, as it is called, was a structure of the same class as the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, and is sometimes more properly described as a trophy tomb. The architecture is Ionic, with a peristyle supported on a high basement round which ran the two principal friezes. These two friezes are placed by Sir Charles Fellows, the one at the distance of two courses of plain masonry above the other. In this arrangement, however, he expresses some diffidence which will be appreciated now when the heroum of Gjölbaschi has shown how two friezes could be placed the one immediately over the other.¹ The lower frieze is considerably the broader of the two, and is occupied with a series of individual combats or encounters, while, as has been rightly observed,² the upper frieze is occupied with the movements of armed men in masses, the scaling of walls, battles in the open field, convoys of prisoners, the surrender of a city to a Persian or other Oriental conqueror. There is, besides, the frieze of the order, narrow and of poor execution, the subjects being a banquet, scenes from the chase, and such like. The pediments are occupied with sculptures in relief, the one on the west representing a battle scene, the other on the east a male and female figure, possibly idealized individuals,³ seated like Hades and Persephone at the entrance to another world, and surrounded by a number of other figures diminishing in scale towards each end. In the intercolumniations were placed a series of female statues in rapid motion to whom the name of Nereids is

¹ Ionic Trophy Monument, p. 19.

² E. Falkener, *Museum of Classical Antiquities*, i. p. 270; at p. 281 he characterises the high bases of the columns, in proportion to the diameter, as special evidence of high antiquity: this he finds also

in the largeness of the capitals.

³ Michaelis, *Annali*, 1875, p. 155, discusses the various names proposed for this group. Clearly the analogy on which the group has been composed is that of a Hades and Persephone or a Zeus and Hera.

applied, and from whom the building obtains its familiar appellation. On the akroteria, or highest points of the pediments, were sculptures in the round.

When found at Xanthos in 1842 by Sir Charles Fellows, these sculptures lay in a confused mass, and though in very many points he secured sufficient data for a reconstruction of the monument, there nevertheless stood over several questions of much interest for which as yet no adequate solution has offered itself. The arrangement of the narrow basement frieze, for example, presents numerous difficulties; not less so the position of the lionesses and certain other sculptures in the round. In style these curious lionesses¹ with manes of lions belong to a stage of transition from an archaic manner; and whatever may have been their position in relation to the building, it is difficult to avoid the conviction that the archaism visible in them may be of some weight in determining the age of the other sculptures. Again, there are three draped female torsos, presenting a similar effect of archaism, to which the same conclusion would apply. It is easily conceivable that for purely architectonic functions the older manner of sculpture in which Xanthos, as we have previously seen,² had been distinguished, was retained for some time after a newer style had been adopted in general. But there is a moderately narrow limit to the period during which this would have been possible, and before these figures can be dismissed as not properly belonging to the building it will be necessary to enquire whether the other sculptures do not, in fact, reach back to that period.

¹ Compare Michaelis, *Annali*, 1874, p. 235. Of a similarly architectonic character are two draped female figures, with the torso of a third; it is of them that Birch, *Archæologia*, xxx., p. 202, says, "Two statues of females draped in tunics apparently from the apex of a pediment." But Fellows in his

Ionic Trophy Monument, where he gives an account of his reconstruction of the building, makes no mention of these statues.

² See the Harpy tomb and other archaic sculptures of Xanthos published in *Greek Sculpture before Pheidias*, pp. 116-123.



SLAB OF BROAD FRIEZE OF NEREID MONUMENT (BRITISH MUSEUM).

To begin with the broad frieze and to notice first the costume. The subject is a series of violent encounters between Greeks and enemies who are distinguished from them in a marked manner by the long thin chiton which they wear, giving them an appearance as of women (Pl. XVIII.).¹ We have seen the same dress worn by the Persians on the frieze of the Nike temple at Athens. But while on the Nike frieze the drapery is throughout treated with restraint and subordination to the forms and action, here on the Lycian frieze it forms a conspicuous element. Even the Greeks, when they have a chiton, wear it long and effective in the display of its folds.² While thus, perhaps, characterizing them as Asiatic Greeks, the sculptor has found an additional opportunity for his treatment of thin drapery agitated by movement yet never in any sense florid as on the frieze of Phigaleia at times. His conception of drapery under these circumstances is that of a material which throws itself into narrow compact folds, separating on the top into two small parallel folds; between these larger folds it extends in a thin tightened substance. In this feature the drapery resembles what sometimes occurs in the Phigaleian frieze and the Nike of Olympia. The result is a delicate effect of light and shade.³ It may be noticed also that

¹ The same chiton is worn by a slinger on a coin of Aspendus; see Gardner's Types of Greek Coins, pl. 10, No. 10, where the date assigned to it is B.C. 431-371. See also a painted kylix by Duris in the British Museum (Cat. of Vases, No. 824). Indeed it is not rare on early red-figure vases.

² The *laissezion* pendant from the shield of one of the Greeks, is a feature which occurs on red-figure vases of a more or less severe style; as, for example, in the following specimens in the British Museum: (1) An amphora with Theseus and Antiope (Cat. of Vases, No. 873; Museum of Classical Antiquities,

i., p. 137); (2) a lekythos from Gela in Sicily; (3) another lekythos from Sicily. Furtwaengler, Arch. Zeit., 1882, p. 360, affirms that this pendant to the shield only occurs in vase painting on examples of this early red-figure style.

³ Friederichs, Bausteine, p. 309, observes that the sharply broken folds of the Lycian frieze bespeaks the best age of Greek art, though in general his conclusion is for the 4th century B.C. It may be remarked that in the Parthenon draperies the tendency is rather to break up the surface of large folds by smaller diagonal folds running along their surface.

the close-fitting, finely-modelled cuirass with chiton beneath, worn by some of the Greeks, occurs on one of the Phigaleian figures.

To pursue further the comparison between the broad Lycian and the Phigaleian frieze, it will be observed that while in both there is an obvious tendency to spread out not only the composition but the individual figures so as to cover the most of the available surface, in the Lycian frieze this tendency is manifestly much more pronounced, and the avoidance of backward distance far more carefully studied. In this respect it is nearer to the Parthenon¹ frieze, and may be described as having been freely animated by the pictorial influence which Pheidias knew better how to subdue to his own purpose. Or, comparing the types of faces, no one can say that those of Xanthos are not the same as those of Phigaleia, and, to a large extent, as those of Olympia also. Again, in both sets of reliefs the forms are of a large and simple mould, calculated for massiveness of effect, without attention to details of anatomy, and even in places with an unaccountable coarseness of execution, the effect aimed at being on the whole superficial in a literal sense, in which respect we are again reminded of the Parthenon frieze, where also there is little or no working round of limbs or forms in what may be called a strictly sculpturesque manner.² The early red-figure vases usually associated with the style of Polygnotos abound in examples of this largeness and simplicity of form. It is characteristic of the desire for massiveness that the legs of the nude figures are not only

¹ Michaelis, *Annali dell' Inst.* 1875, p. 92, recognizes the similarity in the treatment of the relief that exists between the broad frieze and the Parthenon frieze. Furtwaengler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 360, enforces the same observation. It is the treatment of bas-relief which Mr. Ruskin describes so finely in his *Aratra Pentelici*, p. 164, though

not carried out in the Lycian frieze with nearly the refinement of that of the Parthenon.

² In this respect it answers to what Mr. Ruskin has laid down in his *Aratra Pentelici*, p. 169: "The general law is always that the lighter the incisions and the broader the surface the greater, *ceteris paribus*, will be the work."

disproportionately short, but so bent or composed in action as to break up the spaces where they occur. They are in fact sacrificed to a principle of composition which we cannot describe otherwise than as a pictorial principle derived from the time of Polygnotos. At Xanthos it is carried out with great force. At Olympia, and still more at Phigaleia, it is subjected to restraint. Neither the sculptures of the Mausoleum nor any other sculptures traceable to the schools of Skopas or Praxiteles retain any element of this nature, and since they affected substantially all subsequent art we may place the sculptures in question before their date. In the figures of Persians on the Xanthos frieze, where the bodily forms are covered by thin drapery, it may be said to be natural and right that they should be indicated by soft and undefined modelling, such as is proper to fresco painting, where a line drawn in colour tends to spread into softness as compared with the sharpness and definiteness of a line cut in marble. But when it is found that this same method of rendering the details of form extends also to the nude figures, in the constant indications of details of form, and no less in rendering the changes of form induced by varied action, it becomes evident that the sculptor had worked directly under pictorial influence.¹ That he experienced this influence in Athens can hardly be open to doubt. The fringed dress of the Nereids, though it is absent in the friezes, is a sufficiently marked reminiscence of the Parthenon. That he experienced it subsequently to the building of the Parthenon and anterior to the rise of Praxiteles and Skopas is hardly less certain, and if that is so, then we obtain a date for the Lycian frieze more

¹ See also Furtwaengler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 360, and again p. 368, where he rightly points to the recently found reliefs at Gjölbashi as supporting both by their style and the subjects they represent the

theory of their origin in the paintings of the school of Polygnotos. What is true of these latter reliefs is true also of those of the Nereid monument.

or less the same as that of the sculptures of Olympia, Phigaleia and the Nike temple at Athens, the sculptor being supposed to have been largely imbued by the spirit of the paintings of Polygnotos, to have been an Asiatic Greek by birth, and to have all the more readily imbibed an artistic spirit which appears to have had its origin in Asia Minor. Among the irregularities of workmanship may be noticed the grossness of form in the slab on which are two dead Persians,¹ the one fallen on the back of his horse, the other prostrate on the ground. It is true that the latter is not much worse than the similar figures of Persians in the Nike frieze, and it may be urged also that the composition of the right-hand side of this slab is unusually bold and ingenious. It is from surpassing excellence of composition that the frieze takes its rank; witness the slab with two Greeks following hard on a mounted Persian, the slab in which with clashing shields a Greek meets two Persians who defend one of their comrades fallen on his knees (Pl. XVIII.), or the slab with a Persian trying to step down from his fallen steed.

The narrow frieze with its large bodies of men moving together in organised masses, would have been a hopeless task if the sculptor had confined himself to a strictly accurate rendering of the subject. In one slab, where he has allowed himself hardly any freedom, the result is a line of troops all armed in the same manner, all keeping the same step, each and all repeating one and the same artistic motive. Compared with the other slabs containing similar bodies of men advancing in order, this one is poor and almost absurd in effect. The artist knew well the beauty, such as it is, that resides in the military tramp of a regiment or company, and apparently in this one instance he had made the experiment of representing this movement in its barest form. In the other slabs he has carefully

¹ See also Michaelis, *Annali dell' Inst.* 1875, p. 88.

mitigated the monotony incident to the subject by variety of step, armour, and action.¹ The rendering of the forms and the treatment of the drapery are throughout the same as in the broad frieze, but the imposing effect is lost in the smaller scale. A historical interest takes its place, and here again it is to be observed that sometimes a powerful sentiment peculiarly pictorial takes possession of the artist, as when he presents to us a stretch of deserted city walls or a great fortress at last yielding to the enemy. There is no pretence of the form or action proper to sculpture. The culmination of these events is seen in the slab where a Persian Satrap, seated like a conqueror with a slave holding his parasol above him, and his body guard behind, receives the representatives of his vanquished foe headed by two elders of the city who have come to submit to him, not with oriental obeisance, but respectfully like Greek men of honour, as they are. They are bald-headed, simply dressed old men, such as may be seen often on the early red-figure vases, and not unlike the old man in the east pediment at Olympia.² The precise order of the various slabs it is hardly possible to determine. We must be content with the general sentiment of engagements in the open field, assaults on city gates, convoys of prisoners, deserted walls, surrender.

Of the reliefs in the pediments, it may be remarked that the one with the battle scene is distinguished for its spirit of composition as much as the other is notorious for its absence of this quality. Yet both agree in being suggestive of an early style, the one with the battle scene retaining something of the character of composition which we found in the Aeginetan pediments, the other showing more by the rendering of the two principal figures a manifest indebtedness to archaic sculpture, as for example in the treatment of the

¹ See also Michaelis, *Annali dell' Inst.* 1875, p. 99. Furtwaengler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 361.

² This is pointed out also by

draperies, the folds of which are shown wherever possible in profile, so as to yield flat vertical surfaces. The drapery of the male figure from his knees downwards would be called by some a later imitation of archaic style, while others would more correctly perhaps regard it as a prolongation of archaic manner such as we have already observed in the lionesses. The rudeness of workmanship and the want of invention in treating the diminishing figures at the sides, indicate the same carelessness, though in a less degree, which we find in the miserably executed narrow friezes assigned to the order and the cella wall.

The peristyle of the Nereid monument presents four Ionic columns at each end, and five on each side, so that there were in all not less than fourteen void spaces between the columns to receive so many statues.¹ Of these statues there were found and removed to the British Museum with the other sculptures seven, which, by the marine creatures represented under their feet and by their characteristic movement, proclaimed themselves Nereids. Along with several fragments which appear to have belonged to this series there were obtained also four draped female figures² more or less severely mutilated, which by their diminished scale and by the fact of their moving on firm ground instead of over the sea, it was necessary to provide for on some other part of the building than in the intercolumniations. Of about the same scale and in some way intended to be associated with these four female figures, are two much-injured groups, each representing a male figure carrying off a female figure, probably the two Dioskuri

¹ Sir Charles Fellows relates in his *Ionic Trophy Monument*, p. 21, that he found on the upper side of the stones of the cornice the marks of alternate statues and columns. Falkener, *Museum of Classical Antiquities*, i. p. 258, with plate, gives four columns at each end and six at each side in opposition to

the restoration of Sir Charles Fellows, and in this he appears to have been supported by the authority of Mr. Rohde Hawkins.

² Nos. 91 and 95 moving to the left, and Nos. 80 and 92 moving to the right. These are the numbers painted on the pedestals in the British Museum.

carrying off the Leukippidæ. It was resolved by Sir Charles Fellows to place these two last mentioned groups one on the apex of each pediment and to distribute the four female figures one on each angle of the pediment.¹ This arrangement, however, though it has been generally approved, is open to the objection that the two angle figures of each pediment appear in what must be admitted to be the very singular position of hastening to the rescue of their companion who is being carried off on the apex. Yet to have reversed their position, and to have presented them in the act of escaping such as we expect in designs of this nature, would have seriously interfered with the lines of the building, not to say with the effect of the statues themselves. If then to place them in this attitude of escape is out of the question, and if it is, nevertheless, beyond doubt, as we think it is, that these four female figures are in the act of escaping in terror from the central group, we must adopt a new arrangement. It has been proposed² to bring these female figures close to the two central groups of the Dioskuri, and thus form on the apex of each pediment a compact composition consisting of Castor or Pollux carrying off one of the daughters of Leukippos, flanked on each side by a female companion rushing away in fear. Nothing could be more consistent with the Greek manner of representing such scenes of forcible abduction, and the proposal has the advantage of being to some extent supported by the analogy of certain sculptures found in recent years in Delos, of which more will be said, illustrating Boreas carrying off Oreithyia and Eos with Kephalos. The lionesses would find an appropriate place at the four angles of the pediments.³

¹ He relates in his *Ionic Trophy Monument*, p. 22, that he found in the stones of these angles and at the apex of the pediments places to receive the bases of statues.

² Furtwaengler, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1882, p. 347.

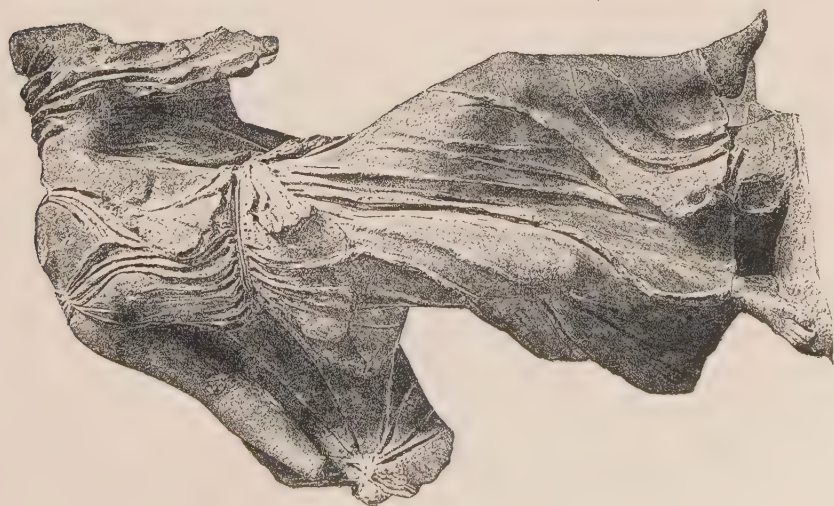
³ That is where Furtwaengler, *loc. cit.*, proposes to place them.

It is, however, to the statues of Nereids in the intercolumniations that artistic interest mainly attaches. The mere fact of the monument being generally named from them indicates something effective and striking in their aspect, at least from a modern point of view. That they are in reality Nereids there is hardly a manner of doubt. But too strict an interpretation must not be placed on the marine symbols under their feet. We are not, for example, to suppose that some are traversing the depths of the ocean because shell-fish are immediately under their feet, or that another is skimming the surface because beneath her is a water-bird. Doubtless the movement of them all is along the surface of the sea. On the other hand we possess only seven out of a possible sixteen statues, and on this account cannot determine what continuity of action may have existed in the whole series, or what particular idea they were intended to convey.

On a red-figure kylix from Kamiros in the British Museum,¹ dating from the latter half of the 5th century B.C., a number of Nereids are seen in attitudes very similar to those of the statues. They are hastening in alarm towards Nereus and Triton, and the cause of their alarm is the seizure of Thetis by Peleus, which is painted on the centre of the vase. Whether on the monument of Xanthos there was any such causative incident it is impossible to say, though the similarly concerted action of the Nereids would argue some origin of this nature. It has been said that these statues resemble the Nike of Olympia, with the eagle under her feet to indicate the element of air through which she is descending. The observation is just in many respects, and that too notwithstanding the difference of the problem presented to the sculptor of a Nike elevated

¹ Published by Prof. Gardner in the *Journal of Philology*, vii. pls. A-B, p. 215. The latter half of the

5th cent. B.C. is the date assigned by him, and in this there is hardly room for doubt.



STATUE OF NEREID (BRITISH MUSEUM).



STATUE OF NIKE BY PAEONIOS (OLYMPIA).



STATUE OF NEREID (BRITISH MUSEUM).

on a high pillar in the free air from that of the sculptor of the Nereids, each shut in or framed by two Ionic columns. On two of the Nereids, Nos. 78 and 79,¹ the drapery extends far to the back in a large mass, the inner substance of which it had been found impracticable to cut away altogether, the result being that the drapery appears in places to be sculptured in relief on a block of stone. At the back of the Nike there is an almost similar effect, and on the whole the treatment of her drapery compares with that of the Nereids, those at least of them who wear a material of the same thickness (see Pl. XIX.). One of the Nereids in particular, No. 79,² has a very thin chiton clinging to her body and revealing most carefully modelled forms. In this respect she is artistically the finest of the Nereids, and is I think finer than the Nike, both as regards the modelling of the forms and the rendering of the drapery. It is clear that the sculptor has bestowed special care on this statue with a view to a display of skill. Not content with the thinness of the chiton he has avoided the long diploidion or cape which in the other figures effectually conceals all but the most general indications of form. The long sweeping folds that fall back from the left leg are high, thin and compact, broken as usual along the ridge³ into two small parallel folds which lend lightness and animation to the mass. The cords which in this figure hold the thin chiton close into the armpits and cross over the back, recall the middle figure of the so-called Fates of the Parthenon, and indeed the material of the chiton is rendered in almost the same manner in both. Where nude form is still to be seen in an occasional arm or foot, it is rendered in a manner that could not well be distinguished from the simplicity of mould in the Nike, except for the finer details of structure, as in the toes of

¹ Mon. dell' Inst. x. pl. 11, Nos. v. and iv.

² Mon. dell' Inst. x. pl. 11, No. iv. gives two views of this statue.

³ Overbeck, Gr. Plastik, 3rd ed. ii. p. 152, also notes this treatment of folds as a special feature in these sculptures.

No. 91, from the akroteria and the Nereid, No. 84. In bodily type the Nereids agree with the Nike in being youthful and fashioned for active movement. Yet having no advantage like her of wings to facilitate movement, they were necessarily more agile in person, more like the Lapith maiden in one of the metopes of the Parthenon.¹ This the sculptor has fully appreciated, and it must stand to his credit that he has thus really valued refinement of bodily form in comparison with Paeonios, who in his Nike, where it might have told with effect, displayed no such quality. On the whole we may conclude that the Nereids belong either to a somewhat later period than the Nike, or to a local phase of the same period where greater refinement came into play, as may be supposed to have been the case in Athens, under the influence of the Parthenon sculptures. To that influence we may trace, besides such points of similarity as have already been noticed, the circumstance that the hair of one of the Dioskuri of the akroteria is twined in two plaits round the head, just as in the so-called Theseus of the Parthenon. The bodily type of the Dioskuri seems to have been suggested by the Lapiths of the Parthenon metopes—great as is the distance in actual merit. To the Lapith maidens the Nereids were similarly indebted as to type, action, and dress. With the date here adopted would be consistent the archaic manner retained, along with freer elements, in the figures of lionesses mentioned above and in the architectonic female figures in case they also belonged to this monument.

In connection with the akroteria of the Nereid monument we have referred to certain statues found in the course of the years 1877-8 during the French excavations in Delos, where they still remain.² The first im-

¹ Of this metope there is only a cast in the British Museum; the original was removed from the Parthenon by Choiseul-Gouffier.

It is No. x. in the series as given by Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, pl. 3.

² These sculptures were described by M. Homolle, who found

pression was that these statues had belonged to the pediment of a temple, though of too large a scale for the temple beside which they were obtained. Since then, however, with no less ingenuity than good reason, a position has been assigned to them on the apex of the two pediments, a position corresponding to that of the two groups of the Nereid monument. It is possible to make out one group nearly complete, consisting of Boreas, bearded, nude, and apparently winged, carrying off on his left shoulder and arm Oreithyia, youthful and draped; close on each side is a female companion of Oreithyia escaping in haste. Near the feet of Boreas is sculptured a small figure of a horse galloping, perhaps a symbol of the swiftness of the wind-god. Of the opposite group very little remains.

It may be said that for a small temple like this in Delos, so large a composition on the apex of the pediment would overbalance the design, and this would apply equally to the groups proposed for the Nereid monument. But in this latter building it is to be remembered that the pediments themselves were occupied only by sculptures in relief, and that the deep shadow which they would thus supply would render possible a group of far more than the usual dimensions on the apex. In the Delos temple also we may assume that the pediments contained only reliefs, if sculpture at all, and with this there would be no serious difficulty in the dimensions of the groups. There is a charm in the types of the two female figures much the same as in the Nereids, derived probably from Athenian art towards

them, in the *Monuments Grecs*, 1878, p. 55 fol. Subsequently they were again described by him and the principal statues published in photography in the *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, iii. (1879) pls. 10-12, p. 515. While admiring their artistic style, M. Homolle thinks them inferior to the Parthenon sculptures or the reliefs of the

Nike Balustrade, but considers them to be superior to the reliefs of the Erechtheum, without however pledging himself to their being older than the Erechtheum. Since then they have been examined by Furtwaengler and described in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, pp. 335-368, where sketches are given of his restoration on p. 337, p. 339 and p. 342.

the end of the 5th cent. B.C. It is a charm of gracefulness and form which has not yet freed itself from the dominant traditions of composition and movement,¹ nor abandoned in principle the massiveness of the age of Pheidias. Witness the head and neck, and the whole form of Oreithyia. At the same time there is an awkwardness in her pose and a want of freedom in the hold with which Boreas clasps her, such as might be expected at the date just mentioned. With it also is in perfect agreement the nude powerful torso of Boreas, the type and expression of his face.

More directly connected with the Nereid monument are the sculptured friezes of a Heroum recently found at Gjölbaschi in Lycia, and removed to Vienna.² We have already alluded to the circumstance that on this building there were two friezes resting the one immediately above the other. Not only is there no separating member between them, but in places the designs of both friezes complement each other and annihilate all idea of separation. The building consisted of a quadrangular peribolos enclosing in the centre a great sarcophagus and having an entrance in the south front. The double friezes were placed on the inner face of all four walls, and on the outer face of the south or front wall. The doorway, inside and outside, was decorated with sculptures which present a remarkable contrast to the friezes. The door is in fact characterized as an entrance to another world, first by the two groups of

¹ M. Homolle, *Bulletin de Corr. Hellén.* 1879, p. 523, after pointing out some exaggerations of the proportions in the female figure of his pl. 10, and citing other good points in its favour, concludes that it is easy to recognise le charme délicat du morceau, la fraîcheur et comme la fleur de jeunesse répandue sur toute cette figure que rien ne dépare plus.

² This Heroum was first seen and described by Prof. Schoenborn

of Posen in the *Museum of Classical Antiquities*, 1851, p. 41. It was not, however till 1882 that an Austrian expedition led by Professor Benndorf rescued the sculptures and removed them to Vienna. An account of this expedition and a general description of the sculptures was given by Benndorf in a preliminary report published in the *Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, vol. 6.

man and wife seated in contrasted pairs on the lintel, the wives attended each by a diminished figure such as occurs on Greek funeral stelae and baffles interpretation. Above these reliefs project the foreparts of four winged bulls equidistant from each other. On the inside each door-jamb is sculptured with a life-size male figure wearing a thin chiton and dancing. On the lintel are eight figures producing music from instruments of various kinds. The whole is a scene of music and dance such as the Lycians in common with the early Etruscans associated with death.

The friezes, on the other hand, are occupied chiefly by legendary and historical scenes covering originally, it is reckoned, a length of over 100 metres. Of this, some parts have been lost, and much of what remains is so far defaced that the details of execution are no longer recognizable. But notwithstanding all the damage, there is still abundance of material to illustrate the merits of the work. In so extensive a series of sculptures, it is likely that more than one artist was employed; and this indeed is held to be demonstrated by the differences of proportions observable in the figures of certain friezes as compared with others. At the same time it is maintained that the artists were either Athenians or Asiatic Greeks trained in Attic schools, and that such peculiarities of costume as may be called strictly Lycian are only concessions to the taste of the district.¹ These peculiarities are no other than what we have already seen in the friezes of the Nereid monument, with which the resemblance in many other points is sufficiently obvious. But the new sculptures, while reproducing most of the characteristics of the Nereid reliefs, go far beyond them in the variety of subject. The historical element is amply represented by a besieged city with numerous incidents and details. We have, in addition, legendary battles of Greeks and

¹ Compare Benndorf, Bericht, p. 77.

Amazons or Persians, of Centaurs and Lapiths, of the Seven against Thebes, Penelope with her attendants, Odysseus slaying the Suitors, the hunt of the Calydonian boar and other subjects, each with an array of figures and a large variety of artistic motives which find their nearest analogies in the sculptures of the Theseion, of the Nike temple, of Phigaleia and of the Parthenon. The following indicates the general arrangement :—

South Front.

Battle of Greeks and Amazons or Persians.		The Seven against Thebes.
Battle of Centaurs and Lapiths.	Door.	Battle Scene.

Inner Face of South Wall.

Banquet.	Quadriga.		Penelope & attendants.	Odysseus slaying the suitors.
Dancing.	Bellerophon and Chimaera.	Door.		Hunt of the Calydonian boar.

Inner Face of North Wall.

<i>The Dioskuri carrying off the Leukippidae.</i>	Hunting Scene.
	Battle of Centaurs and Lapiths.

Inner Face of West Wall.

War.	Besieged City.	War.
Incidents of War.		

Inner Face of East Wall.

Labours of Theseus, &c.

In this multitude of figures there are two subjects which unavoidably recall paintings of Polygnotos ;

the Rape of the Leukippidae which he executed in the temple of the Dioskuri at Athens, and Odysseus slaying the Suitors which he painted on the wall of the pronaos of a temple in Plataeae.¹ Both these subjects are known from vases of the end of the 5th cent. B.C. But the limited space of a vase necessarily entailed the suppression of so many figures and the modification of so much of the composition that the only certainty left was that such artistic motives as actually were to be seen on the vases had been found in the large mural paintings. The Lycian friezes were of an extent that called for no such limitations. Nor can it be said that their peculiar form of long narrow bands required serious modifications of the composition, since it is clear that Polygnotos, with a large surface to decorate, distributed his figures, not strictly in parallel bands one above the other, yet in a manner nearly approaching to such an arrangement. So much, at least, may be gathered from the only detailed description which we possess of his larger works—those of the Lesche at Delphi²—and the effect may be seen on the Meidias vase³ in the British Museum, where the Rape of the Leukippidae is portrayed. The continuity of subject down from an upper to a lower frieze could not well have had any other origin than in painting of this kind. On the friezes the story is told with profusion of incident, from the preparations for a sacrifice in front of a temple, and for the wedding ceremony of the two daughters of Leukippos, to the surprise and confusion when Castor and Pollux suddenly seize the brides and carry them off in their chariots. We are by no means bound to suppose that in all these particulars the

¹ Pausanias, i. 18, 1, and ix. 4, 1.

² Pausanias, x. 25-31. Compare also Mr. Watkiss Lloyd in the Museum of Classical Antiquities, i. p. 52, where he points out that the figures had been arranged in nearly two rows, one above the other, as

the description of Pausanias clearly indicates.

³ Engraved and described by Gerhard in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Science in Berlin, 1840.

sculptor faithfully followed the picture of Polygnotos. But that he was strongly under its influence hardly admits of a doubt. In the frieze which represents Odysseus slaying the Suitors, we have again a recurrence of the motives on a vase¹ in Berlin with certain obvious and instructive differences which show, among other things, how the sculptor had made concessions to the Lycian prejudice against nude forms. The moment selected is that in which Odysseus, accompanied by his son, plants himself at the threshold of the dining-hall and pours his deadly arrows on the suitors. It is the moment at which the 22nd book of the *Odyssey* opens, and, as we read on, the narrative unfolds in succession scenes that are made visible in the reliefs, ending with the purification of the house by the fire of torches. This last incident is separated from the rest, and is, in fact, a remarkable instance of artistic freedom, in as much as Penelope is present though Homer has left her asleep at this point. A couch behind her indicates that the artist had this circumstance in his mind, and this is confirmed by her still incomplete recognition of Odysseus. We are compelled to imagine her in a different chamber, but already possessed of some knowledge of what had occurred, and of a conviction as to who the stranger would prove to be. In this way her presence at one extreme of the group would be defensible. An alternative would be that there may have existed some different version of the order of events from that which we have now in the *Odyssey*.

Among the other subjects of these reliefs, that of the Expedition against Thebes was treated by Onasias,² the colleague of Polygnotos, on the walls of the temple at Plataeae and the *Amazonomachia* by another colleague, Mikon,³ on the Painted Portico at Athens.

¹ Published in the *Mon. dell' Inst.* x. pl. 53, and *Annali*, 1879, p. 222.

² Pausanias, ix. 4, 1:

³ Pausanias, i. 15, 2. On this Portico were painted also the battles of Marathon and Oinoë.

How far the scene of a besieged city may have been influenced by the Iliupersis of Polygnotos on the Portico just mentioned and again in the Lesche at Delphi¹ it is impossible to say. But it has been pointed out² as a coincidence worthy of attention that at one end of the picture in the Lesche was represented an incident which is to be seen also at one end of the frieze in question—people loading an ass with what they can save of their household goods before deserting the city. In the picture this incident seems to have been more vividly touched than in the sculpture; yet there also it has a powerful effect. In the upper slab an old man and his wife are seen trudging reluctantly away with their few possessions on the back of an ass, while in the slab immediately below a rich lady rides away on a mule.

These large pictorial compositions, it cannot reasonably be doubted, were the source from which the sculptors of the Lycian reliefs drew their inspiration. Identity of subject where the designs are extensive and complicated, would of itself be a considerable argument. Add to this the identity of certain motives³ and of the arrangement in two parallel bands. These are facts which it would be difficult to dispose of were it found that the style and execution of the sculptures were irreconcilable with the stage of art in which Polygnotos and his contemporaries produced their celebrated paintings. It is true that the sculptures cannot be assigned absolutely to that period. They are distinctly later. But from abundance of evidence it has been seen that the pictorial influence of Polygnotos continued beyond his lifetime to be felt in sculpture—particularly

¹ Pausanias, i. 15, 3, and x. 25-27.

² Benndorf, Bericht, p. 65. The description of this part of the picture occurs in Pausanias, x. 27, 2.

³ Benndorf, Bericht, p. 76, speaks of many of the motives as variants of what may be seen on the friezes of the Theseion of the Nike temple, of the Parthenon and of Phigaleia.

sculpture in relief. That is to say, it continued down to near the end of the fifth cent. B.C. To this date belong the style and execution of the friezes of Gjölbaschi, and in this respect they agree perfectly with the friezes of the Nereid monument.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PUPILS OF MYRON AND POLYKLEITOS.

Lykios, son and pupil of Myron—Subjects taken from daily life—Bronze group at Olympia—Statue of Athlete—Styppax—Statue of a Splanchnoptes—Pupils of Polykleitos—Patrokles, Dædalos—Naukydes—His statue of Hebe—Hekate at Argos—Statues of Athletes—The younger Polykleitos—Sculptors employed on the Lacedæmonian monument at Delphi—Kallimachos—Demetrios of Alopeke—Kresilas—Strongylion—Sokrates—Kephisodotos—Damophon of Messene—Personifications in sculpture.

For the sake of tracing continuously the influence of Pheidias to its last stage we have postponed to now all consideration of the sculptures produced by the immediate followers of his two older rivals, Myron and Polykleitos. Yet so far as Athens is concerned it can hardly be supposed that in the formation of the new school of sculpture which in time arose, the peculiar merits of Myron had been without considerable effect. His merits to some extent appear to have descended to his son and pupil Lykios, of whom it is said in one instance that his skill was worthy of his master. This was in his statue of a boy in the act of blowing a smouldering fire into a flame.¹ The locality of the

¹ Pliny, xxxiv. 79, Lycius Myronis discipulus fuit qui fecit dignum præceptore puerum sufflantem languidos ignes et Argonautas. Bergk (*Zeitschrift für Alterthumswiss.* 1845, p. 971) supposes that the boy here was part of a group with the Argonauts, and it is certainly not a little remarkable

that in the scenes of Argonautic sacrifices on vases boys holding sacrifices above altar fires occur. I have sometimes been inclined to think that the Phrixos sacrificing, as mentioned by Pausanias, may have been the same as the boy of Lykios. The Argonauts would thus be in good company.

figure is not given; but it is curious to notice in connection with it that there was to be seen at Athens, most probably on the acropolis, a bronze statue of a youth, who had been a slave of Perikles, in the act of blowing with his mouth on an altar fire, on which were burning the entrails of an animal slaughtered for sacrifice.¹ This statue was known as the Splanchnoptes or Haruspex, and was the work of Styppax the Cyprian. Again, there was on the acropolis a figure of Phrixos looking on at the burning limbs of the ram which he had sacrificed after the Greek manner.² This appears to have been the work of an Argive sculptor Naukydes.³ The temptation to assume that the statue by Lykios had also stood on the acropolis arises from the fact that a somewhat kindred figure by him is known to have been there, that of a boy holding a *perirrhanterion* or vessel for sacred water, such as was placed in front of temples. This much is certain, that those sculptures all

¹ Pliny, xxxiv. 81, Styppax Cyprius uno celebratur signo, Splanchnopte; Periclis Olympii vernula hic fuit exta torrens ignemque oris pleni spiritus accendens. Klein, Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich, 1883, p. 72, has recently suggested that Styppax was merely the dedicator of the work, and that it was no other than the Phrixos; see next note.

² Pausanias, i. 24, 2. It is strange that Pausanias does not directly notice the Splanchnoptes of Styppax, but perhaps a knowledge of it on his part may be implied in his remark that Phrixos had sacrificed the ram *τοὺς μηροὺς κατὰ νόμον ἐκτεμών τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, since the procedure of the Haruspex or Splanchnoptes was very different. Though apparently of Etruscan or Asiatic origin, divination from the entrails of animals had found its way into Greece at an early time. It was practised at Olympia and

Syracuse. See Müller's Etrusker, ed. Deecke, ii. p. 187. Zeus Splanchnotomos was worshipped in Cyprus (Athenæus, iv. 174a), and Styppax had doubtless brought the idea of his figure thence.

³ Pliny, xxxiv. 80, Naucydes Mercurio et discobolo et *immolante arietem* censetur. Perhaps the fragmentary inscription, *αυκύδης Ἀργείος ἐπόησε*, found on the acropolis, refers to this figure. See Michaelis in his edition of Jahn's Pausaniæ Descr. Arc. Ath. p. 24 and p. 57, No. 59. It has been affirmed that the missing letter or letters at the beginning of the inscription cannot be N, but must be something like ΓΛ, thus making Γλανκύδης. See Hirschfeld in the Arch. Zeit. 1872, p. 22, pl. 60, No. 8; and compare Arch. Zeit. 1879, p. 46. But a more recent and very careful authority maintains the reading Naukydes. See Loewy, Untersuchungen zur Gr. Künstlergesch. p. 30.

belong to about the same date, and that they indicate very clearly a tendency towards the observation of incidents and motives of more or less ordinary life, such as Myron indulged with success.¹

A boy holding a water-vessel in front of a temple is, no doubt, merely an application of the human figure to a useful purpose, such as in the Caryatides of the Erechtheum, or, to go back to Homer, in the youths holding torches in the palace of Alkinous. There was no obstacle to its being treated in a purely ideal manner. But when we come to a boy blowing up flames, and suppose from the analogy of the Splanchnoptes that the flames were on an altar, we are obliged to assume some degree of humour or quaint observation in the design. In a relief it could have been treated with perfect idealism, as it frequently is on vases.² But there is no indication of the work having been a relief.

As a sculpture in the round it must either have been complete in itself, like the Phrixos and the Splanchnoptes, or have served some useful purpose like the "boy with the water vessel." An altar with a boy sculptured beside it in the act of blowing with his mouth on the flames, when there were flames on it, would be a quaint realization of a common circumstance. The altar would be none the less available for practical purposes, just as the water vessel was. Strictly it would be no part of the artistic design. It would be in principle a thing assigned to the sculptor to decorate. On the other hand, the Splanchnoptes is an instance in which the altar is a distinct element of the artist's idea, as much so as the

¹ See Greek Sculpture before Pheidias, p. 213.

² See for example in the British Museum two red-figure vases (Vase Cat. Nos. 804-805), and a fragment of another large red-figure vase of fine style (Arch. Zeit. 1845, pl. 35), on all of which is a sacrifice proceeding at an altar: in each

case two boys are present, holding or preparing to hold a piece of the slaughtered animal over the fire of the altar. These boys are nude, and the whole scene is treated ideally. The two sons of Laoköon were probably present with him at the sacrifice in a similar capacity.

figure, though calling for no display of artistic skill. In choosing between these two alternatives for the statue of Lykios, the utilitarian view commends itself from the analogy of the boy with the water vessel, as to which there can be little doubt that it was practically a water vessel supported by a boy. But mention is made of another boy by him, described as a *puer suffitor*,¹ whose duty was to carry a censer for fumigation. If we imagine this boy to have been represented blowing on the burning substance in the censer, he would then apparently be one and the same figure with that previously spoken of as a "boy blowing on languid fire," and our theory of the altar would fall to the ground. To imagine this, however, we must accredit Pliny with the curious mistake of mentioning, within a few lines, one statue under two designations, which to him at least had appeared different, and characteristic of two different statues. Or, to spare Pliny, the *puer suffitor* may be the same as the "boy with the water vessel," which we know of not from him but from Pausanias. That would seem to be the more natural explanation, if it is absolutely necessary to suppose that Lykios had only made two statues of this kind. From what we have seen such subjects were, so to speak, in the air of his time.²

¹ Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 79, *Lycius et ipse puerum suffitorem*; that is to say, a boy holding a censer such as was employed for the purification of places. Brunn, Gr. Künstler, i. p. 259, points out that *suffitio* was among the Romans a part of funeral ceremony in which the persons present were sprinkled with water, and suggests that the *puer suffitor* of Pliny may well have been the same as the boy with water vessel of Pausanias. But he prefers to accept the meaning of *suffitor* as a boy with a censer, and supposes him to have been blowing into it and to be identical with the *puerum sufflantem languidos ignes*

previously described by Pliny. He admits the difficulty of charging Pliny with this mistake, but regards it as the best explanation. In this he is followed for example by Overbeck, Gr. Plastik, 3rd ed. i. p. 373. But see Klein in the Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich, 1883, p. 72.

² Curtius, Arch. Zeit. 1879, p. 22, argues that there had been a vein of naturalism and realism in Greek Sculpture, side by side with the idealism of Pheidias and others, and that it was for a time represented by Myron and his school. On pl. 1, he gives several naturalistic figures which had been

Any attempt to reconstruct figures of this class would fail from the want of analogies at present among the remains of ancient art. But it may be borne in mind, as against the tendency to call them *genre* figures, that the art of sculpture must still have been powerfully influenced by traditions of style, which were essentially of an ideal nature, and that whatever realism there was must have been controlled by these traditions, and confined to such observations of incident or character as they could be made to permit. Only so far can the figures of Lykios be called *genre*. And in fact his achievements elsewhere speak plainly to his obedience to the traditions of sculpture.

At Olympia Lykios produced a large bronze group for the people of Apollonia on the Pontos.¹ It had pleased them to choose for the subject a curious epitome of the Trojan war. The central group, illustrating the Aethiopis of Arktinos, consisted of Zeus with Thetis on the one hand and Eos on the other, imploring him for their sons, Achilles and Memnon, then posed in the attitude of deadly conflict. The whole composition formed a semicircle of statues on a marble basement, and this group constituted the centre. But between it and the other statues there is no coherency beyond

employed as ornaments of fountains. One of them, No. 5, is a Satyr blowing with full cheeks, his mouth serving as the water spout. In connection with these subjects he recalls the figure with the water basin and the *puer suffitor* of Lykios, and the boy blowing on the altar fire by Styppax.

¹ Pausanias, v. 22, 2, describes the arrangement of the figures as seen in our sketch (Fig. 10). Except on one point, his description is clear. After mentioning the central group, he says, that on each extremity (*πέρας*) of the base were, Achilles opposed to Memnon, Odysseus to Helenos, &c. Overbeck, Gr. Plastik, 3rd ed. i., p.

372, considers that what is meant is, that at each extremity of the semicircle were Achilles and Memnon, that next to them, and nearer the centre, were the other pairs of combatants, the effect being that Zeus in the centre would look over a field of minor warriors to the two great chiefs, for whom he was being implored. I prefer to understand "extremity" (*πέρας*) as used here by Pausanias, to mean, "on each wing" of the semicircle. This is the principle of our sketch. Brunn, Gr. Künstler, i. p. 258, may be said to leave it doubtful whether he attaches this meaning, or that given by Overbeck to the phrase of Pausanias.

this, that they are arranged in pairs of combatants, and that the combatants are respectively Greeks and Trojans, the Greeks being on the wing of the semicircle



Fig. 10.—Probable arrangement of group by Lykios.

where Achilles stood, and the Trojans on the side of Memnon. They are paired against each other according to their antipathies in the *Iliad*. Next to Achilles, Odysseus is matched against Helenos, both probably in attitudes of cunning rather than of combat. Then Menelaos is opposed to Paris, possibly the sword or spear against the bow. Diomedes charges at Aeneas, both, doubtless, heavy armed. Lastly, Ajax prepares to strike at Deiphobos. There was an evident opportunity for the play of variety in attitudes, character, and armour.

But for the fact that these figures were placed on a semicircle, they would be imagined as having been arranged, like the statues in the pediments of the temple of Aegina, in the formal manner imposed on the sculptor by the space at his command, and intelligible in early times, as we have already seen. The semicircular arrangement was an effort towards a more vivid realization, allowing the combatants to be so placed over against each other that they could strike without appearing to run through those of their own party who chanced to be in front of them, as is the case in a pediment. By placing the principal combatants, Achilles

and Memnon, close to the central group, the arrangement of the whole will be seen to utilize the centralizing tendency inherent in the form of a semicircle in common with the triangle of a pediment, though in a less degree, and thus it retains one of the leading traditions of earlier composition, while seeking at the same time to render it more vivid and generally intelligible. The date of this work is uncertain; but it must have been previous to B.C. 403, since the dedicatory inscription was written in characters which were officially abandoned in that year.¹ Nor is there any temptation to suppose that they had been here retained after that date, for this reason, that at least the best period in the life of a son of Myron would naturally fall before then, possibly a number of years.

The date of the statue of Autolykos, the youthful athlete, is determined by his having been pancratiast at the Panathenaic games,² on which occasion his admirer Kallias is made to give the banquet described in the opening of Xenophon's Symposium, where the beauty of Autolykos is spoken of in the highest terms. In such a statue Lykios could not have failed if he had inherited the talent of his father Myron, and profited by his instruction. Not the less are we bound to allow him originality. His large group at Olympia, and his "Argonauts," of which, however, there is no description, testify to independence of his father's manner in the important respect of composition, while at the same

¹ Pausanias, *loc. cit.*, gives the inscription, and remarks that it was written *γράμμασιν ἀρχαίοις*, his expression for the Greek characters employed previous to Euclid, B.C. 403.

² Xenophon, *Symp.* i. 9; Athenæus, v. 187*b* and 188*a*, repeats some of the sentences of praise from Xenophon. "As a light in the dark attracts all eyes, so does the beauty of Autolykos."

Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 79, Autoly-

cum pancratii victorem propter quem Xenophon Symposium scripsit. Pliny inserts this among the works of Leochares, but its title to be the work of Lykios is shown by Ulrichs, *Arch. Zeit.* 1856, p. 256. Cf. Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. i. p. 374, and his *Ant. Schriftquellen*, No. 867, where he quotes two references of Pausanias (i. 18, 3 and ix. 32, 8) apparently to this same statue as being in Athens in the Prytaneum.

time admitting the hereditary force of vivid realization, and an instinctive observation of effective details and motives. In the statue of Autolykos this hereditary faculty would probably have predominated, but without the accompaniment for example of archaically treated hair. In this, and perhaps some other minor respects, Lykios may be supposed to have, so to speak, brought his father's manner down to time.

The Splanchnoptes of Styppax the Cyprian has already been mentioned from its relation in subject to a figure by Lykios. The model had been a young slave of Perikles, who, during the building of the Propylæa, had fallen from a height and been injured, apparently beyond cure, till Perikles, in a dream, was told a remedy by the goddess Athena. While proclaiming his gratitude directly by means of a statue to Athena Hygieia, placed close beside a column of the Propylæa and the work of an otherwise unknown sculptor Pyrrhos,¹ Perikles appears to have taken also an indirect method of commemorating the circumstance by employing Styppax to sculpture the boy in the attitude of a haruspex burning the entrails of a victim and divining from them the issue of the future.² The probability is

¹ The inscribed base of this statue has been found *in situ* close to one of the columns of the Propylæa and facing the interior of the acropolis. It reads, Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τῇ Ὑγείᾳ. Πύρρος ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναῖος. See Bergk (Zeitschrift für Alterthumswiss. 1845), p. 969 on the Splanchnoptes, and p. 966 on the Athena Hygieia; Michaelis in the Mittheilungen d. Inst. Arch. in Athen, i. p. 284, pl. 16. Compare Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 80; Pausanias, i. 23, 5; Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, Nos. 904-906; Brunn, Gr. Künstler, i. p. 264. Hygieia on the Meidias vase has a spear. Compare the statue of Hygieia in the Vatican, Annali dell'

Inst. Arch. xlv. pl. A. with article by Flasch.

² Brunn, Gr. Künstler, i. p. 266, rejects the view of Bergk that the boy had been represented as a slave standing beside an altar in front of the statue of Athena Hygieia and in the act of blowing on the altar where at times sacrifice was burnt, much as we have supposed the boy of Lykios to have been represented. But he offers no other theory. We differ from Bergk on the point that the presence of the burning entrails was an essential part of the design and must have given the special character of Splanchnoptes to the figure. So also Michaelis, Mitthei-

that this sculpture was placed near to the statue of Athena Hygieia. In any case, by being on the acropolis it would form a companion piece to the Phrixos sacrificing the ram by Naukydes, and since Phrixos is pointedly described as having sacrificed it in the Greek manner, it may be inferred that the companion figure was represented in the performance of a more or less foreign rite, such indeed as the Cyprian origin of the sculptor would suggest, the worship of a Zeus Splanchnotomos in Cyprus being a known fact. Besides, the haruspicine method of divination was practised in Greece as early as the Persian wars, though in general it may have been regarded as a foreign rite.¹ A small bronze statuette in the British Museum, apparently of Etruscan workmanship of the 5th cent. B.C., may convey a notion of how the Splanchnoptes had been represented. It is the figure of a youth kneeling on his right knee, his body wrapped close in a mantle, and a heavy bulla hanging on his breast. It is hard to say whether the type of this statuette is more Etruscan than Cypriote. The workmanship is delicate and refined.

A sculptor who succeeded in establishing a permanent type or canon of athletic beauty would naturally have many pupils or followers in an age when statues of victorious athletes were in frequent demand. This was the case with Polykleitos, and if a few of those who are reckoned² among his pupils are now unknown but by

lungen d. Inst. Arch. in Athen, i. p. 292, supposes the boy to have been kneeling before a low altar with the burning entrails of a victim on which he was blowing. It cannot, he says, have been a boy standing or kneeling in this act beside the altar of the goddess. Klein, Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich, 1883, p. 72, converts Styppax into the dedicator, and identifies the figure with Phrixos.

¹ Müller's Etrusker, ed. Deecke, ii. p. 187, collects the passages

which show how the rites of the haruspex, derived originally from Etruria, had been modified by others from Asia Minor, in particular from Telmessos, and had thus been engrafted on the national *ἐμπυρομαντεία* of the Greeks. Pausanias, vi. 22, 4, describes a statue at Olympia of Thrasybulos, an Elean priest, examining the entrails of a dog.

² Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 50, Polycletus discipulos habuit Argium Asopodorum, Alexim, Aristidem,

name, it may be that one reason for this lies in their having too faithfully reproduced his type. Others of them acquired a fame of their own; in particular Patrokles and his two sons Naukydes and Dædalos. Two inscribed bases of statues found at Olympia, and a third at Ephesos, taken together with a statement of Pausanias,¹ show that Dædalos was a pupil of his father Patrokles, and that he was a resident of Sikyon. So also on the base of a statue of Eukles at Olympia Naukydes describes himself as a son of Patrokles,² but without stating the town of his residence. This however appears to survive in the epithet "Mothonos" applied to him by Pausanias, which, since it cannot be his father's name, even on Pausanias' own showing, may be corrected into "Methonaios" or citizen of Methone.³ The passage here cited makes Naukydes a brother of Polykleitos. He was more probably a nephew, since Pliny places a distance of twenty years between them, and since the characters of the inscription just referred to would better suit this later date. It is true that Pliny there assigns Patrokles also to the same later date. If

Phrynonem, Dinonem, Athenodorum, Demean Clitorium.

¹ vi. 3, 2, Δαίδαλου τοῦ Σικυνώνιον μαθητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς Πατροκλέους. The correction of πατρὸς into παιδὸς proposed by R. Förster (Rhein. Mus. 1882, p. 482) seems unnecessary, though it may be supported by such analogies as Ἀριστοκλῆς μαθητὴς τε καὶ υἱὸς Κλεοῖτα (Paus. v. 24, 5) or τοῦ Ὀνατᾶ μαθητῆς ἢ παῖς ὁ Καλλιτέλης ἦν (Paus. v. 27, 8).

The inscriptions from Olympia read: a) Δαίδαλος ἐποίησε Πατροκλέος Σικυνώνιος. Arch. Zeit. 1879, p. 45, No. 221. b) Δαίδαλος ἐπ[ό]ησε Πατροκλ[έ]ος Σικυνώνιος. Arch. Zeit. 1879, p. 46, No. 222, and p. 145, No. 287a. This latter inscription appears to be from the base of the statue of Narykidas mentioned by Pausanias, vi. 6, 1.

The Ephesian inscription reads:

υἱὸς Πατροκλέος Δαίδαλος ἐργάσατο. C. I. Gr. No. 2984: Brunn, Gr. Künstler, i. p. 278. This was on the statue of Euthenos, as the inscription also records.

² Ναυκίδης Πατροκλῆος ἐποίησε: Arch. Zeit. 1878, p. 84, No. 129. It may be noted that his manner of spelling differs slightly from that of Dædalos. The statue belonging to this base is mentioned by Pausanias, vi. 6, 1.

³ Pausanias, ii. 22, 8. τὰ δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ χαλκᾷ Ἑκάτης καὶ ταῦτα ἀγάλματα τὸ μὲν Πολύκλειτος ἐποίησε, τὸ δὲ ἀδελφὸς Πολυκλείτου Ναυκίδης Μόθωνος.

Furtwaengler, Arch. Zeit. 1879, p. 46, suggests ἀδελφιδούς, "nephew," for ἀδελφός, "brother." Brunn, Berichte der bayer. Akad. 1880, p. 472, approves the emendation of Methonaios.

he is correct in this, Patrokles could only have been a considerably younger brother of Polykleitos.

Of these three sculptors it is Naukydes who stands in the most direct relationship to Polykleitos in an artistic sense. Beside the gold and ivory Hera of Polykleitos at Argos stood a Hebe, also of gold and ivory, by Naukydes.¹ Again, in the temple of Hekate at Argos there were two bronze statues of the goddess, the one by Polykleitos, the other by Naukydes.² There was thus a sufficient association of labour between them to justify a relationship of master and pupil, and to testify to unusual ability in the pupil. His ability must have been generally recognised, when a writer like Pausanias,³ speaking of two statues of the athlete Cheimon, the one at Olympia, the other in Rome, whither it had been carried off from Argos, says that they were among the most celebrated of the works of Naukydes. His statue of the athlete Eukles at Olympia has already been referred to. Among his pupils were the younger Polykleitos,⁴ and Alypos of Sikyon,⁵ the latter known for his statues of athletes, and for his having executed part of the monument erected at Delphi by the Lacedæmonians to commemorate their victory at Aegospotami, B.C. 405.

In regard to the younger Polykleitos there are several difficulties. He is described by Pausanias⁶ in one place as the brother, and in another as the pupil of Naukydes.

¹ Pausanias, ii. 17, 5.

² Pausanias, ii. 22, 8. It should be remarked that some have supposed this passage to refer to the younger Polykleitos, apparently from the notion that these two statues of Hekate were made after the principal Hekate of the same temple by Skopas. But it seems more reasonable to suppose that they had really been older figures superseded by the marble statue of Skopas. Cf. Petersen, *Die Dreigestaltige Hekate*, p. 4. There is a source of confusion in the statement

of Pausanias, vi. 6, 1, that "Polykleitos the Argive, not he who made the Hera, was a pupil of Naukydes." It is possible there may have been an elder and a younger Naukydes, just as there were an elder and a younger Polykleitos in the same family of sculptors.

³ vi. 9, 1.

⁴ Pausanias, vi. 6, 1. Π. Λύκλειτος Ἀργεῖος, οὐχ ὁ τῆς Ἥρας τὸ ἄγαλμα ποιήσας, μαθητὴς δὲ Ναυκίδους.

⁵ Pausanias, vi. 1, 2, and vi. 8, 3.

⁶ ii. 22, 8; vi. 6, 1.

That one brother should be the instructor of another in the sense in which the word is employed in the genealogies of Greek sculptors, sounds improbable, and for this reason alone the alteration of "brother" to "nephew," easy in Greek, commends itself, though it has met with opposition.¹ He appears to have been mainly a sculptor of statues of athletes. Of these Pausanias mentions six, representing Thersilochos of Corcyra, Aristion of Epidauros, Kyniskos of Mantinea, Pythokles of Elis, Xenokles of Mænalia, Antipatros the Milesian as he styled himself, and Agenor of Thebes.² These were all to be seen at Olympia, where the bases of two of them with confirmatory inscriptions have been found.³ In one instance he is known to have produced the statue of a god. It was for the town of Megalopolis, and was probably one of the many sculptures executed immediately on the foundation of that town in B.C. 371. The subject was novel, though it does not imply any unusual degree of originality. It represented, under the name of Zeus Philios, a combination of Zeus and Dionysos. The god was seated, wearing cothurni in place of sandals, holding out a drinking cup in one hand and resting the other on a thyrsos on the top of which was an eagle.⁴

Of the nine ⁵ sculptors employed on the Lacedæmonian

¹ Brunn, *Berichte der bayer. Akad.* 1880, p. 466, maintains that the younger Polykleitos was the brother of Naukydes. He would place approximately the birth of Naukydes at B.C. 440, and the younger Polykleitos at not less than 8 years thereafter. Loeschke, in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, p. 10, had argued from an inscription at Thebes, that the younger Polykleitos had worked there contemporarily with Lysippos. But Brunn will not allow this to be possible.

² Pausanias, vi. 13, 4; vi. 4, 6; vi. 7, 3; vi. 9, 1; vi. 2, 4; vi. 6, 1.

³ The base of Pythokles (*Arch.*

Zeit. 1879, p. 144, No. 286) is inscribed Πολύκλειτος ἐποίησεν Ἀργεῖος. That of Xenokles (*Arch. Zeit.* 1878, p. 83, No. 128) is inscribed Πολύκλειτος ἐποίησεν.

⁴ Pausanias, viii. 31, 2.

⁵ They were Theokosmos of Megara, who had been associated with Pheidias; Antiphanes of Argos, Pison of Kalauria, representing the fourth generation of pupils of the Athenian Kritias (Paus. vi. 3, 2); Athenodoros and Dameas, both of Kleitor in Arcadia; Tisandros, Alypos of Sikyon, Patrokles, and Kanachos.

monument at Delphi, two, Athenodoros and Dameas, are included in Pliny's list of pupils of Polykleitos; Alypos may be connected with him from having been a pupil of Naukydes, and in the same way Antiphanes of Argos from being a pupil of Periklytos, a pupil of Polykleitos; while Patrokles was a near relative, if not a younger brother. Dædalos, the brother of Naukydes, is known not only for his statues of athletes,¹ his figure of a boy on horseback to celebrate a victory in the horse-race, and of Timon, the father of that boy, who had won in the chariot race,² but also for his trophy at Olympia erected by the Eleians to commemorate a Laconian victory, and for his part of the monument at Delphi, set up by the Tegeans for a victory over the Lacedæmonians.³ Antiphanes had a share, not only in the Tegean, but also in the Lacedæmonian monument at Delphi, of which mention has already been made as of about the date of B.C. 405. In this case it was a group of the two Dioskuri that he executed. Whether they were accompanied by horses is not said; but that Antiphanes was skilled in the rendering of equine forms may be judged from his being employed by the Argives to make the bronze Trojan horse which they set up at Delphi.

While adherence to a fixed athletic type and careful observance of the rules of the master seem to have been the chief characteristic of the school of Polykleitos until Lysippos arose and developed out of this school a new canon of proportions; while the pupils of Myron were indulging in the direct observation of

¹ Statue of Narykidas, Pausanias, vi. 6, 1; statue of Aristodemus, Pausanias, vi. 3, 2.

² Pausanias, vi. 2, 4. It is in connection with this that Dædalos is described as having executed the Eleian trophy for a Laconian victory, apparently about B.C. 396.

³ Pausanias, x. 9, 3. If this Tegean victory was, as is supposed, as late as B.C. 370, Dædalos must

have been a young son of Patrokles. The character of the letters in the inscriptions of his found at Olympia would seem to show that the sculptures to which they belonged were executed considerably before B.C. 370. Compare also Pausanias, x. 9, 4, and x. 9, 6, and Brunn, Gr. Künstler, i. p. 283, with reference to Antiphanes.

nature with a view to new and attractive motives, and while the idealism of Pheidias was surviving as a strong under-current of artistic sentiment; there were still other sculptors who occupied positions more or less peculiar to themselves. Kallimachos had earned a reputation and a bye-name¹ by the minuteness and laborious refinement of his work, whether in metal or marble. His having made the golden lamp of the Erechtheum would determine his date to about the end of the fifth century B.C. At Plataæ was a figure of Hera² as a bride by him, and mention is made also of Lacedæmonian dancing girls from his hand.³ To his inventiveness was traced, whether rightly or not, the first use of the drill in marble, and the introduction of the Corinthian capital into architecture. Besides this, he was said to have been skilled as a painter.

A very different tendency was that of Demetrios of Alopeke, with whom beauty or refinement was of little account compared with a desire for realism which led him to find agreeable subjects in Lysimache,⁴ the

¹ I have already (Greek Sculpture before Pheidias, p. 192) introduced Kallimachos because of his supposed connection with Kalamis (Dionys. Halicar. de Isocrate, 3, p. 541). But on the whole his position seems better here. Pausanias, i. 26, 7, says in connection with the golden lamp made by Kallimachos for the Erechtheum that "though behind the foremost in his art, he was yet in skilfulness ahead of them all, being the first to employ the drill in cutting stones and obtaining the bye-name of *κατατηξίρεχνος*." Compare Brunn, Gr. Künstler, i. p. 253, where the ancient authorities on this point are fully discussed. When it is said by Pausanias, *loc. cit.*, that above the golden lamp of the Erechtheum was a bronze palm tree which carried the fumes out at the

roof, I would suggest that the palm tree was inverted so that its spreading leaves would form a reflector, while the hollow stem would conduct away the fumes.

² Pausanias, ix. 2, 5.

³ Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 92: Ex omnibus autem maxime cognomine insignis est Callimachus, semper calumniator sui, nec finem habentis diligentiae, ob id catatexitechnus appellatus, memorabilis exemplo adhibendi curæ modum. Hujus sunt saltantes Lacenæ emendatum opus sed in quo gratiam omnem diligentia abstulerit.

⁴ The figure of Lysimache stood beside the Erechtheum and was at most a cubit in height (Pausanias, i. 27, 5; Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 76). Compare Brunn, Berichte der bayer. Akad. 1880, p. 482.

priestess who had served Athena for 63 years, or the Corinthian general Pelichos, "with large belly, bald, half draped, the few hairs of his beard waving in the wind, his veins standing out, altogether like a real living man."¹ Probably his bronze statue—he seems to have worked generally in bronze—of Simon the equestrian who wrote on horsemanship, shared this quality of striking realism. But it can hardly be supposed that this was extended in any very forcible manner to his Athena Musica, so called because the snakes of her Gorgoneion responded to the sound of a lyre.² In this respect he may be said to have been, like Kallimachos, a student of novel contrivances.

Kresilas on the contrary knew how to make noble-looking men appear still more noble ;³ and if the existing portraits of Perikles are copies from the original of Kresilas, it must have been worthy of this ancient criticism. Apparently true to expression and individuality these portraits yet present, in the accessory of a helmet and the somewhat formal rendering of the hair, just such touches as imply a careful consideration of the amount of idealism which would be permissible. For this faculty we can imagine a wider scope in another statue by Kresilas, also on the acropolis of Athens, that of Diitrephes, wounded with arrows and dying, but with life not quite gone out. Only a tragic incident could have justified such a portrait, if portrait it were. Diitrephes had led a band of Thracian mercenaries to Syracuse (B.C. 413), but arriving too late was obliged to steer homewards again. On the way he

¹ This is the description of Lucian, *Philopseud.* 18 ; cf. also 19, 20, and Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10, 9, who says that Demetrios was a lover of likeness more than of beauty.

² Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 76. Compare Brunn. *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 256.

³ Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 74 : *Et Olympium Periclem dignum cognomine. Mirumque in hac arte est quod nobiles viros nobiliores fecit.* The British Museum possesses a marble portrait bust of Perikles, from which the artistic features here indicated may be judged.

stopped and captured the Bœotian town of Mykalessos, his Thracians destroying men, women, and children. Pausanias,¹ who relates this, evidently supposed that Diitrephes had fallen in this encounter with the Bœotians; for he remarks it as strange that he should be pierced with arrows, seeing that the Greeks did not then use that weapon in warfare. It might be supposed that Diitrephes had fallen in endeavouring to check his own mercenaries, whose proper arm was the bow. But he was alive two years after this date, according to Thucydides, and holding a command in Thrace.² The base of the statue has been found; and it records that it had been erected by Hermolykos, a son of Diitrephes, as an *aparche* or atonement; from which it may be inferred first, that Diitrephes had incurred public blame for the massacre of the Mykalessians, even though he may have retained command afterwards, and secondly, that the statue may have represented, not Diitrephes himself, but an idealized Mykalessian shot down by Thracian arrows.³ The statue of a wounded Amazon would appeal to much the same temper of imagination, and it is not surprising that Kresilas had succeeded with it so far as to have been reckoned third after Polykleitos and

¹ Pausanias, i. 23, 3. It was a bronze statue and stood near the Aphrodite of Kalamis within the Propylæa at Athens.

² Thucydides, vii. 29

³ The base of the statue reads: *Ἑρμόλυκος Διειτρέφους ἀπαρχήν. Κρησί-
λας ἐποίησεν.* Compare Brunn, Gr. Künstler, i. p. 260. *Ἀπαρχή* usually means a sacrifice, offering of first-fruits, or grateful gift; and Bergk (Zeitschrift für Alterthumswiss. 1845, p. 963) rightly objects to such an expression on a statue set up by the son of Diitrephes if it were to be an honorary monument. But instead of taking the view which I propose, he sought to connect the inscription with a statue of Hermolykos himself,

which is also mentioned by Pausanias (i. 23, 12). To this, however, Brunn (Gr. Künstler, i. p. 263) properly objects that the Hermolykos there mentioned was an athlete, the son of Euthynos. In giving the meaning of "atonement" to the word *ἀπαρχή* which continued in use in New Testament Greek, I mean only to express an offering made by way of satisfying or appeasing public feeling in regard to a great outrage with which Diitrephes, though probably guiltless himself, was associated.

Overbeck, Gr. Plastik, i. p. 377, thinks that no positive result can be obtained from these various pieces of evidence. But in that I cannot agree.

Pheidias.¹ His statue of a Doryphoros is suggestive of influence from Polykleitos.²

Among the few sculptors that remain to be noticed in this place, Strongylion is conspicuous by the praise which his figures of oxen and horses received.³ The records mention particularly his Trojan horse of bronze on the acropolis of Athens, the inscribed base of which still exists, and testifies that the figure had been of a large size. But when it was said that Menestheus, Teucer, and the sons of Theseus, were seen peeping out at the window in the side of the horse, it is difficult to understand how this could have been represented on anything but a conventional, machine-looking horse. No doubt it may have been otherwise.⁴ But unless the bronze bull dedicated on the acropolis by the council of the Areopagus, which is conjecturally ascribed to Strongylion,⁵ can be shown to have possessed more of realism, there will be no good reason for saying that the sculptor had belonged to the school of Myron.

His talents in any case were not confined to animals. He made an Amazon,⁶ known as "Euknemon" from

¹ Pliny, xxxiv. 53: Tertia Ctesilæ, quarta Cydonis. Ctesilæ is a scribe's mistake for Cresilæ, while Cydonis is evidently a corruption of the ethnic Kydoniates, Kresilas having been a native of Kydonia in Crete, as he styles himself on an inscription from Hermione and in an epigram preserved in the Greek Anthology. See Brunn, Gr. Künstler, i. p. 260. In the *Berichte der bayer. Akad.* 1880, p. 481, Brunn proposes to read in the Auctor ad Herenn. iv. 6, 9, ventrem et crura (Cresilæa), and thus to assign Kresilas the position of one of the greatest masters in the rendering of these parts of a statue.

² Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 75. Compare Brunn, Gr. Künstler, i. p. 264, who thinks that the position of

Kresilas is between the influences of Myron and Polykleitos. With regard to the statue of Enobios which Bergk (*Zeitschrift für Alterthumswiss.* 1845, p. 964) creates out of a lacuna in the text of Pausanias (i. 23, 9), all that can be said is that it is not improbable.

³ Pausanias, ix. 30, 1.

⁴ Pausanias, i. 23, 10. For figures of the Trojan horse in later art see Overbeck's *Bildwerke*, pl. 25. The date of Strongylion is so far determined that the Trojan horse is mentioned in the Aves of Aristophanes, v. 1128, which was produced in B.C. 415.

⁵ Pausanias, i. 24, 2. Bergk, *Zeitschrift für Alterthumswiss.* 1845, p. 979.

⁶ Pliny, xxxiv. 82.

the beauty of her legs, and admired by Nero; a boy¹ much admired by Brutus, and called in allusion to him "Philippensis;" three Muses² on Mount Helicon, and a bronze statue of Artemis Soteira at Megara,³ probably in the attitude of drawing her bow, since the statue was erected with express reference to a belief that it was Artemis who had deceived a plundering band of Persians among the hills between Megara and Thebes, and led them to fire away all their arrows against the rocks, mistaking them in the dark for foes. At day-break they were without arms, and an easy prey to the Megareans. On no point have we any means of judging of the style of Strongylion, of Olympiosthenes, of Sophroniskos and Sokrates, and many others of whom little more than the names have been preserved.

Sokrates indeed is infinitely more than a name. But it is a question whether the traditions are well founded which ascribe to his hand certain figures of the three Graces, that were to be seen at the entrance to the acropolis.⁴ Some will have it that he made also a figure of

¹ Pliny, *loc. cit.*

² Pausanias, ix. 30, 1. In this group of Muses, there were three others by Olympiosthenes, and others again (probably six in number) by Kephisodotos.

³ Pausanias, i. 40, 2.

⁴ Pausanias, ix. 35, 3 and 7. Benndorf, in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1869, p. 55, pl. 22, publishes some of the fragments of reliefs in Athens along with the relief of the three Graces in the Museo Chiaramonti. He points to the characteristics of style, and compares them with the metopes of the Parthenon. But Furtwaengler, in the *Mittheilungen des Inst. in Athen*, iii. p. 181, objects that we have no right to connect these reliefs with Sokrates the philosopher, since it is not a question of one relief, but several

of the same design, and those too archaic for Sokrates. He attaches great weight to the statement of Pliny, xxxvi. 32, *non postferuntur et Charites in propylæo Atheniensium quas Socrates fecit alius ille quam pictor, idem ut aliqui putant.* Sophroniskos, the father of Sokrates the philosopher, is described as *λειτουργός* or marmorarius, perhaps a low degree of sculptor, or carver. It is curious, as Brunn points out (*Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 271) that Sokrates only once (*Memorabilia*, iii. 10) appears to make use of a knowledge of sculpture, to prove to the otherwise unknown sculptor Kleiton, that for a true statue he must observe not only the physical forms, but the moods and expressions of the soul.

Hermes on the same spot. It is said that the Graces were sculptured in relief, and it is a curious circumstance that fragments of such reliefs have been found on the acropolis. On the other hand they are in style too archaic to be the work of Sokrates the philosopher, even on the theory that he had early abandoned the pursuit of art. They are however draped Graces, and so far agree with the ancient descriptions that there can be little doubt of their having been the production of a sculptor named Sokrates. It does not follow that he was the famous son of Sophroniskos. These fragmentary reliefs show that the same representation of the three Graces was repeatedly executed in sculpture, apparently as a dedication, and though those that have hitherto been found are too early for Sokrates the philosopher, it is yet possible that he in his time also may have copied the older design for some one wishing to dedicate it on the acropolis. To have produced such a copy, and never to have done better in art, would have justified the traditions regarding him as a sculptor. Still it is the more probable that he had never at all practised as a sculptor when we find Pliny saying in regard to the Graces that they were made by Sokrates, "not the painter of that name, though some think it was." With so well known a name it seems incredible that the word painter could have taken the place of philosopher.

So far, it has been convenient to treat separately these sculptors of the interval between Pheidias and Praxiteles who were, in the main, pupils or followers of one or other of the great schools of Pheidias, Myron, and Polykleitos. Some of them may even have combined elements of all the schools, and thus or otherwise have contributed largely to the foundation of a new era under Praxiteles and Skopas. But in this same interval there appear to have been others more directly associated with the new era, though perhaps, in reality, not contributing so much towards it. Such was the

position of Kephisodotos,¹ the father of Praxiteles, whom we have already met with as a contemporary of Strongylion, sculpturing three Muses on Mount Helicon. With Xenophon, also an Athenian, he executed a marble group of Zeus seated, supported by standing figures of Megalopolis on the right, and Artemis Soteira on the left.² This was for a temple in the town of Megalopolis, founded in B.C. 371, and completed with extraordinary rapidity. At the Piræus was an Athena and an altar by him;³ and in Athens an Eirene holding in her arms the infant Ploutos, corresponding in skill, if not altogether in design, to the Tyche holding the infant Ploutos, which his colleague Xenophon made for Thebes.⁴ As if enamoured of the idea, he made also a variation of it in the form of a statue of Hermes nursing the infant Dionysos. Finally, he was the sculptor of a statue of an orator with hand upraised.⁵ In regard to style, it may now be said that Kephisodotos is fairly represented by the statue of Eirene, better known perhaps as Leukothea, in Munich, so closely does the infant she holds on her left arm resemble the infant Dionysos on the arm of Hermes, by his son and pupil Praxiteles.⁶ It is not a successful infant, and we may

¹ Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 50, places Kephisodotos in Olymp. 102, his son Praxiteles in Olymp. 104, and the second Kephisodotos son of Praxiteles in Olymp. 121. Compare xxxiv. 87: Cephisodoti duo fuere.

² Pausanias, viii. 30, 5.

³ Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 74: Cephisodotus Minervam mirabilem in portu Atheniensium et aram ad templum Jovis Servatoris in eodem portu cui pauca comparantur. Compare Pausanias, i. 1, 3. Klein in the Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich, iv. p. 21, has sought to connect these works with the younger Kephisodotos, chiefly on the strength of an incident in the life of Demosthenes. But Brunn,

Berichte der bayer. Akad. 1880, p. 455, argues conclusively against that interpretation of the passage.

⁴ Pausanias, ix. 16, 1. Compare Klein, *loc. cit.* p. 19.

⁵ Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 87, Mercurius Liberum patrem in infantia nutriendus. Fecit et concionantem manu elata; persona in incerto est. Compare Klein, *loc. cit.* p. 20.

⁶ Engraved Clarac, Mus. de Sculpture, pl. 673, No. 1555a, but best in the Arch. Zeit. 1859, pls. 121-122, with text by Friederichs; see also his Bausteine, p. 229. He regards this statue as a Greek original of the first order, Attic in style, of the greatest beauty, and appealing in its tenderness of

suppose that Kephisodotos excelled rather in draped figures. That he was an accomplished artist, there is every reason to believe ; but that he was deficient in creative force may be judged from the fact that his works mostly consisted of figures which required only slight deviations from older and standard types. At the same time these subtle personifications, such as Eirene and Megalopolis, though preserving standard types with the addition of some obvious accessory or attribute, opened a new field of observation on collective humanity. No doubt the older gods represented this or that phase of human life on an elevated scale. But the rapidity with which the worship of Asklepios¹ spread in the period now under consideration, shows how much there were wanted more comprehensive representatives of humanity. Personifications like

expression as a Christian Madonna appeals. The drapery he compares to that of the Caryatides of the Erechtheum. But Brunn more correctly judges it to be an ancient copy of the group of Kephisodotos, while admitting that it is only in want of refinement of execution in details that it falls behind the original. See his description in the *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*, 3rd ed. p. 121.

It may here be remarked that the tender sentiment with which the Eirene regards and holds the infant Ploutos is almost confined to the face and the pose of the head. It does not pervade the whole figure. It was left to Praxiteles to extend to the whole human figure the sentiment which his father had recognised in the face and head mainly. A marble figure of the infant Ploutos (Fig. 11), resembling this one and evidently from an identical group, found at the Piræus, is published by Köhler in the *Mittheilungen des Inst. in Athen*, vi. pl. 13, p. 363. He

remarks that the workmanship clearly shows it to have been copied from a bronze original. The head of the Ploutos presents a most interesting comparison with that of the infant Dionysos of Praxiteles.

¹ In connection with the worship of Asklepios at Epidauros, Pausanias (viii. 26, 4) relates the local myth or legend, that the child Asklepios had been found in the hills by a shepherd searching for a strayed sheep, who, when he approached, saw a light shining from the child, and thinking it something divine, as it was, turned away. But immediately the fame spread abroad over land and sea, that the god had come to find a cure for all ills of men and even to raise the dead. There was a statue of the child Asklepios in Megalopolis (Pausanias, viii. 32, 3). At Tegea we find a group of Asklepios with Athena on the one side and Hygieia on the other (Pausanias, viii. 47, 1).

Eirene and Tyche came to the aid of Asklepios, and were accepted, where Nike, for example, in older times had been consigned to a subordinate position, and Nemesis had succeeded only through a local myth. Her statue at Rhamnus had been altered from an Aphrodite.

The founding of Messene and Megalopolis, B.C. 371, and the rapid embellishment of both these towns with temples and sculpture, presented an excellent opportunity to a contemporary of Kephisodotos, Damophon of Messene, he who repaired the joints of the ivory on the great Zeus of Pheidias, and earned praise by his skilful accomplishment of a delicate task. The list of his sculptures is instructive as to the nature of the subjects he was called upon to render. At Messene he made (1) a statue of the Mother of the Gods, in Parian marble, (2) a statue of Artemis Laphria, (3) statues in marble of Asklepios and his sons, Apollo, Muses, Herakles, a personification of the Town of Thebes, Tyche and Artemis Phosphoros; ¹ at Ægion, (4) an Eileithyia, covered from head to foot in a thin veil, the face, hands, and feet being of Pentelic marble, the rest of wood; (5) statues of Asklepios and Hygieia; ² at Megalopolis (6) a group in relief of Asklepios with Artemis on one side and Hygieia on the other; (7) statues of Demeter and Soteira, the former of marble, the latter having drapery of wood; in front of them were two small figures of maidens, draped to the feet and carrying baskets of flowers on their heads. These figures are explained as Athena and Artemis, who had gathered flowers with Kore, here called Soteira; beside the Demeter was a small figure of Herakles. Apparently in front of the group was a table on which were sculptured the Seasons, Pan with his syrinx, Apollo with his lyre, the nymph Nede holding the infant Zeus in her arms, and other local nymphs; (8) a statue of Hermes, of wood, and

¹ Pausanias, iv. 31, 5, 6, 8.

² Pausanias, vii. 23, 5.

another of Aphrodite with face, hands, and feet of marble, the rest of wood :¹ near Akakesion (9) a marble group of Despoina and Demeter, with Artemis standing at the side of the latter, and the local hero, Anytos, at the side of the former. Demeter and Despoina, with the throne on which they were seated and the base on which it rested, were of one stone.²

Three statues of Asklepios, a Tyche, a Thebes, Muses, and local nymphs, speak plainly to the tendency of public thought which Damophon and Kephisodotos endeavoured to express in sculpture. It was impossible that these subtle personifications should find lasting encouragement while art was still vigorous. Yet they occur here with sufficient frequency to be an ominous forecast of the abundance of them in the Græco-Roman world. At the same time, the efforts of Kephisodotos and his contemporaries may be said to have opened a new field for observation of mankind which could be utilized for more congenial purposes by men possessed of creative force. While the traditions of art, with their constantly recurring combats and contests, supplied all the natural accessories for a personification of Victory, nothing short of an artistic revolution could have brought within the sphere of sculpture the varied occupations of men by means of which Peace, Prosperity, or Fortune could be represented on the old lines. Kephisodotos and his contemporaries were not equal to so colossal a task. Nor did they apparently attempt it. They were satisfied to utilize the ideal conceptions of older times, and by superadding to them strong feelings of humanity to call them by new names. It was in this line of observation that Praxiteles and Skopas proceeded. But they, not content with just enough of observation to warrant the new name of Eirene or Tyche for a statue, cared for no new names and recognised no limits to the extent with which they might

¹ Pausanias, viii. 31, 1, 3.

² Pausanias, viii. 37, 2.

observe and render in marble the humane expressions of mankind. It was a silent revolution that they accomplished, not the less effective because the public mind had by various agencies become attuned to a strain of subjective contemplation and more than hitherto liable to be moved by passing phases of life.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PRAXITELES.

Question as to whether there were two sculptors of the name of Praxiteles—List of his works—Characteristics of his style—The class of subjects chosen by him—The Hermes of Olympia—The Apollo Sauroktonos—Head of Hypnos—His type of heads as seen in existing sculptures—The Demeter of Knidos—The attitudes chosen by Praxiteles as seen in the Apollo Sauroktonos and other statues—His statue of a Satyr in Athens—and at Megara—Other sculptures at Megara—Statue of Eros—Marble statue of Eros in the British Museum—Aphrodite at Knidos—copies of it; attitude; signification; bronze head in British Museum—Venus of Milo—Statues of Phryne—Sculptures not positively identified as his work—Pediment sculptures at Thebes—His powers of composition.

IN families where artistic talent had been hereditary for several generations and where also the custom obtained of naming a son after his grandfather it was almost inevitable that the records of their doings should in time become confused the one with the other. Praxiteles was a son of Kephisodotos, and had a son named Kephisodotos. To them there is not perhaps any great interest attaching. But when it is argued that the grandfather of Praxiteles bore also the same illustrious name of Praxiteles, and that some of the works commonly ascribed to the grandson were in reality from the hand of his older namesake, the question is one which demands serious investigation.¹

To meet the first difficulty, that is, the silence of

¹ Klein in the *Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, iv. p. 1, fol. But previously Kekulé, *die Gruppe des Menelaos*, p. 13, and

Benndorf, *Götting. Gelehr. Anz.* 1871, p. 510, had arrived at a similar conclusion.

ancient writers on this point, it is proposed and generally accepted that in a passage of Pausanias where the name of a self-taught Parian sculptor "Pasiteles," occurs as the master of Kolotes, we should read Praxiteles.¹ That the family came from Paros is probable, and possibly this self-taught Praxiteles was the founder of it. To have been the master of Kolotes implies a considerable standing, but it was a standing in Paros, and so far he is a mere possibility as regards the authorship of sculptures in Athens or elsewhere in Greece. To convert him into a reality, it is argued that a certain group of Demeter, Kore, and Iakchos² at Athens could not have been by the famous Praxiteles, because the inscription accompanying it and giving the name of the sculptor, was written in characters which had gone out of use in Greek inscriptions before his time. Evidently there was something unintelligible to Pausanias in the employment of these characters. If he had known of an older Praxiteles, all would have been plain. But failing that, his ignorance is at least as strong an argument against the existence of such a person as the older letters are in favour of it. Next we are reminded, on the authority of Pliny,³ that Praxiteles

¹ Pausanias, v. 20, 1. Brunn, who opposes throughout the theory of Klein, admits this alteration of Pasiteles into Praxiteles (Berichte der bayer. Akad. 1880, p. 437), but argues from Pliny's chronology of Kephisodotos and Praxiteles, that the older Praxiteles, if he ever existed, would have naturally lived at a time when he might have been the pupil rather than the master of Kolotes, the assistant of Pheidias.

² Pausanias, i. 2, 4, describes this group as being in the temple of Demeter, and adds: *γράφεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τοίχῳ γράμμασιν Ἀττικοῖς ἔργα εἶναι Πραξιτέλους*. The use of the Attic letters, as they are here

called, was abolished B.C. 403, so far as concerned public documents. There is, however, something unusual in the inscription being recorded on the wall of the temple, as Brunn (*loc. cit.* p. 439) points out, and so long as this peculiarity is unexplained, we may allow at least a possibility that the famous Praxiteles was the author of the group. Indeed, Friederichs, in his Praxiteles, p. 12, sees no difficulty in the matter. Klein (*loc. cit.* p. 6) naturally lays great stress on it.

³ Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 71, while saying that Kalamis was without a rival in his horses, hastens to add that in the human figure also he

had sculptured a charioteer for a quadriga by Kalamis, in order that the figure of the driver might not be inferior to the horses. In many ways this is a curious statement. It obviously implies that Kalamis had failed in his driver, but it neither proves nor suggests that the new figure was at once substituted for the failure. It might easily have waited till the time of Praxiteles. The fault of Kalamis was the archaism common to his age, and it is hardly probable that any contemporary, whether named Praxiteles or not, would be much in advance of him in this respect. Again, we are told that there was a Praxiteles who worked as a colleague of Alkamenes, Kallimachos, and Strongylion.¹ But this is only inference, and if it were sound, it would still surely be a strange thing that one and the same sculptor could be a contemporary alike of Kalamis, Alkamenes and Strongylion. In one of the passages cited for this purpose, the Praxiteles mentioned is expressly stated to have executed the sculptures in question in the third generation after Alkamenes. To suggest that the "third generation" here means the third generation in the artistic genealogy of Praxiteles himself, is to put

was not inferior to his contemporaries, as his statue of Alkmena showed. Compare Klein (*loc. cit.* p. 8), who argues also that the famous Praxiteles did not care for strongly moved figures, such as those of charioteers. In this connection I had accepted an older Praxiteles as a probability. See Greek Sculpture before Pheidias, p. 193 and also p. 181.

¹ The sculptures on which Klein (*loc. cit.*) relies for these and other combinations, are the Hera and Rhea at Plateæ (Pausanias, ix. 2, 5); the labours of Herakles in the pediments of the temple at Thebes (Pausanias, ix. 11, 4); the groups of Leto with her children, and of

Hera with Athena and Hebe, both groups being at Mantinea (Pausanias, viii. 9, 1); the group of the twelve gods at Megara (Pausanias, i. 40, 2). Brunn (*loc. cit.* p. 442, fol.) has examined these claims so fully, that it is unnecessary to here enter on them. I may state, however, that Overbeck, Gr. Plastik, 3rd ed. i. p. 379, follows Klein so far as concerns the group of Demeter, Kore and Iakchos at Athens, and the charioteer of the group of Kalamis, and with a little diffidence in the others also. Compare his note, No. 119. To much the same effect writes Dr. Kroker in his Gleichnamige Gr. Künstler (1883), pp. 45-49.

upon the words an ingenious but not a natural construction.



Fig. 11.—Infant Ploutos, Piraeus.



Fig. 12.—Satyr: Marble Statue, Vatican.

The extraordinary fame which Praxiteles enjoyed in antiquity for the beauty of his single statues, confirmed as it has been by the finding of the *Hermes* at Olympia, has had the effect of rooting deeply a conviction, that he had confined himself for the most part to them or to very limited groups. The great number of such statues and groups may well seem to have been enough for a life-time. But it does not follow that he may not have on some occasions attempted larger compositions. The following list will show the nature and extent of his works :—

No.	MATERIAL.	SUBJECT.	LOCALITY.	REFERENCES.
1	Marble.	Hermes with infant Dionysos	{ Olympia.	(1) Pausanias, v. 17, 1; Treu, Hermes mit dem Dionysosknaben.
2	Marble.	Satyr	{ Megara.	(2) Pausanias, i. 43, 5.
3	Bronze.	Satyr	{ Athens.	(3) Ibid. i. 20, 1; Pliny, xxxiv. 69, gives the text for this and the following Nos. 5, 11, 17, 24, 31, 33, 36, 38. His words are, Praxiteles quoque marmore felicit, ideo et clarior fuit. Fecit tamen ex ære pulcherrima opera: Proserpina raptum, item Catagusam et Liberum Patrem et Ebrietatem nobilemque una Satyrum quem Græci Peribœton cognominant; signa etiam quæ ante Felicitatis ædem fuere, Veneremque quæ cum ipsa æde incendio cremata est Claudii principatu marmoreæ illi suæ per terras inclytæ parem; item Stephanum, Spilumenem, Genophorum Fecit et puerum Apollinem subrepenti lacertæ cominus sagitta insidiantem quem Sauroctonon vocant. Spectantur et duo signa ejus diversos affectus exprimentia, flentis matronæ et meretricis gaudentis. Hanc putant Phrynen fuisse deprehenduntque in ea amorem artificis et mercedem in vultu meretricis. Habet et simulacrum benignitas ejus. Calamidis enim quadrigæ aurigam suum imposuit ne melior in equorum effigie defecisse in homine crederetur.
4	Bronze.	Dionysos, Staphylos, Methe	{ Athens—	(4) Pausanias, v. 26, 1. (6) This and the following Nos. 7, 8, 13, 18, 23, 30, are described by Pliny, xxxvi. 20-23: Praxiteles ætatem inter statuarios diximus qui marmoris gloria superavit etiam semet. Opera ejus sunt Athenis in Ceramico sed ante omnia, et non solum Praxitelis verum et in toto orbe terrarum, Venus quam ut viderent multi navigaverunt Gnidum. Duas fecerat simulque vendebat, alteram velata specie quam ob id quidam prætulisset, severum id ac conditio erat, Coi, cum alteram etiam eodem pretio detulisset, severum id ac pudicum arbitantes; rejectam Gnidii emerunt immensa differentia famæ Ædícula ejus tota aperit ut conspici possit undique effigies Deæ, favente ipsa, ut creditur, facto Ejusdem est et Cupido objectus a Cicerone Verri, ille propter quem Thespiæ visebantur nunc in Octaviæ scholis positus. Ejusdem et alter nudus in Pario colonia Proponitidis par Veneri Gnidæ nobilitate et injuria Romæ Praxitelis opera sunt Flora, Triptolemus, Ceres a hortis Servilianis, Boni Eventus et Bonæ Fortunæ simulacra in Capitolio, item et Mænades et quas Thyadas vocant et Caryatidas, et Silieni in Pollionis Asinii monumentis et Apollo et Neptunus.
5	Bronze.	Dionysos, Staphylos, Methe	{ Athens—	(9) Pausanias, ix. 27, 4. (10) Steph. Byz. s. v. 'Μαεξάνδρεια. (12) Pausanias, ix. 27, 3; Cicero, Verr. iv. 2, 4. (14) Pausanias, i. 43, 6. (15) <i>ibid.</i> i. 44, 2. (16) <i>ibid.</i> viii. 9, 1. (19) <i>ibid.</i> i. 23, 9.
6	Marble.	Mænads, Thyads, Caryatides, Sileni	{ Rome.	
7	Marble.	Aphrodite	{ Athens—	
8	Marble.	Aphrodite	{ Rome.	
9	Marble.	Aphrodite	{ Knidos.	
10	Marble.	Aphrodite	{ Kos.	
11	Bronze.	Aphrodite	{ Thespiæ.	
12	Marble.	Eros	{ Caria.	
13	Marble?	Eros	{ Rome.	
14	Marble.	Peitho and Paregoros.	{ Thespiæ.	
15	Marble.	Apollo, Artemis, Leto.	{ Parion.	
16	Marble.	Leto and her children.	{ Megara.	
17	Bronze.	Apollo Sauroctonos	{ Mantinea.	
18	Marble.	Apollo, Poseidon	{ Rome.	
19	Marble?	Artemis Brauronia	{ Athens.	
20	Marble.	Artemis (Hekate?)	{ Antikyra.	
21	Marble.	Leto (and Chloris).	{ Argos.	
22	Marble?	Demeter, Kore, Iakchos	{ Athens.	
23	Marble?	Flora, Triptolemos, Ceres.	{ Athens.	
24	Bronze.	Rape of Proserpine and Catagusa.	{ Rome.	
25	Marble?	Hera, Athena, Hebe	{ Athens?	
			{ Mantinea.	

No.	MATERIAL.	SUBJECT.	LOCALITY.	REFERENCES.
26	Marble.	Hera and Rhea.	Plataea.	(20) Pausanias, x. 37, 1. (21) <i>ibid.</i> ii. 21, 10. (22) <i>ibid.</i> i. 2, 4. (25) <i>ibid.</i> viii. 9.
27	• • •	The Twelve Gods.	Megara.	1. (26) <i>ibid.</i> ix. 2, 5. (27) <i>ibid.</i> i. 40, 2. (28) <i>ibid.</i> i. 43, 6. (29) <i>ibid.</i> ix. 39.
28	• • •	Tyche	Megara.	3. (32) Overbeck, Ant. Schrift. Nos. 1206-7. (34) Pausanias, ix. 27, 4. (35) <i>ibid.</i>
29	• • •	Trophonios, like Asklepios.	Lebadeia.	x. 14, 5. (37) <i>ibid.</i> ix. 11, 4. (39) <i>ibid.</i> i. 2, 3.
30	• • •	Agathodæmon, Agathe Tyche	Rome.	(40-41) are stated by Pliny, xxxvi. 28, to have been doubtful whether they were the work of Praxiteles or of Skopas. Par hesitatio est in templo Apollinis
31	Bronze.	Thespiadæ	Rome.	Sosiani Niobæ liberos morientes; item Janus Pater in suo templo dicatus ab
32	Marble.	Danaë, Nymphs, Pan.		Augusto ex Ægypto adeductus, utrius manus sit, jam quidem et auro occultatus.
33	Bronze.	Stephanusa, Pseli- mene, Canephora		Similiter in Curia Octaviæ quæritur de Cupidine fulmen tenente. This last re- mark applies to No. 42, but it seems probable from the context that Pliny refers to doubts as to the authorship in general, not as between Praxiteles and Skopas.
34	Marble.	Phryne	Thespiæ.	See Brunn, Berichte d. bayer. Akad. d. Wissen. 1880, p. 461.
35	Bronze-gilt	Phryne	Delphi.	(43) Strabo, xiv. p. 641.
36	Bronze.	Matron weeping and courtesan laughing.	Athens?	The following statues elaborately described by Kallistratos and assigned by him to Praxiteles, but without any specific data, may be regarded as more or less imaginary: Dionysos, Eros, a Diadumenos, all of bronze.
37	Marble.	Pediment groups.	Thebes.	Though Vitruvius (vii. præfat. 12) mentions Praxiteles as one of the sculptors of the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, it is to be remembered that Pliny (xxxvi. 30)
38	Bronze.	Charioteer for Kala- mis.	Athens?	in an apparently very exact account of the sculptors employed on it does not include him.
39	Marble.	Warrior beside horse (relief)	Athens.	When Pliny (xxxiv. 70) says that Praxiteles made a group of, Harmodion et
40	Marble.	Group of Niobides?	Rome.	Aristogitonem tyrannicidas quos a Xerxe Persarum rege captos victa Perside
41	• • •	Janus Pater?	Rome.	Atheniensibus remisit Magnus Alexander, it might seem that he must here refer
42	• • •	Eros with thunder- bolt?	Rome.	to an older Praxiteles. But as we know that the group carried off by Xerxes was made by Antenor, and the restoration of it by Kritios and Nesiotes, we may
43	• • •	Altar with reliefs	Ephesus.	conclude that the statement of Pliny is an error. See Greek Sculpture before Pheidias, p. 171.

One of the colossal horses on the Monte Cavallo, Rome, bears an inscription that it is the work of Praxiteles, just as the other professes to be the work of Pheidias. But there appears to be no authority for either statement. See Brunn, Gr. Künstler, i. p. 344, and Friederichs, Bausteine, Nos. 104, 105, who believes these two statues to be copies from Greek originals of either the 5th or the 4th cent. B.C.

Though perhaps equally successful in bronze, it was more with his sculpture in marble that Praxiteles gained the general applause of antiquity.¹ As it happens, the one statue now existing, which is known to be from his hand, is of marble, and thus a fair opportunity is presented of testing the criticisms of ancient writers. But first, some explanation is necessary in reference to a remark of Diodorus,² which constitutes in fact the most important criticism of all. He says that Praxiteles "permeated his works in marble with the *pathe* of the soul," an expression which is so far defined by the conclusion of Sokrates³ in his conversation with the sculptor Kleiton, "that a statuary must render the action (*erga*) of the soul equally with bodily form." By *pathe* is not meant emotion nor any temporary frame of mind, but a mood of the soul with which the whole physical form is charged. No doubt it would be most vividly expressed in the face, though less so than a temporary emotion would be, and on this account the faces of Praxiteles were admired. But we must not suppose that they carried more than their due share of expression at the expense of the body.⁴ A body by Pheidias with a head by Praxiteles, would be an impossible combination. There are moods of the soul

¹ Pliny, vii. 127, Praxiteles marmore nobilitatus est; xxxvi. 20, Praxiteles . . . marmoris gloria superavit etiam semet; Propertius, iv. 9, 6: Phidiacus signo se Juppiter ornat eburno, Praxiteles patria vindicat urbe lapis. See Friederichs, Praxiteles, p. 9 and p. 46, where he quotes to the same effect a statement of Diodorus, and p. 47, where he quotes the interesting remark of Cicero (De Divinat. ii. 21, 48), that every block of marble contains *Praxitelica capita*.

² Diodor. Sicul. Reliq. xxvi. 1.

³ Xenophon, Memorabilia, iii. 10, 6.

⁴ Friederichs, Praxiteles, p. 47, uses the phrase "Seelenstim-mungen" for *pathe*, but lays far too much stress on the expression of the face. Similarly, M. Rayet, (Mon. de l'Art. Ant. pt. 2,) in dealing with certain ancient copies of the Apollo Sauroktonos, observes that the heads of Praxiteles were admired in antiquity, as, no doubt, they were. The remark of Cicero (De Divin. ii. 21, 48), that every block of marble contains Praxitelean heads, proves the currency of the admiration. But it does not follow that the whole form of any one of his statues was not equally penetrated by the same idea.

which become fixed and reveal themselves in the whole person to the most ordinary passer by, and there are other natural moods, which no less charge the whole form and bearing, but are yet only fully recognisable to practised observers. The majority it is true unconsciously recognise them, and when a sculptor catches such a mood his work is generally intelligible to a wide circle. Possibly he would find a larger numeric appreciation if he represented a fixed mood. But that leads to, if it is not, caricature, and perhaps Praxiteles went too far in this direction in his group of a "weeping matron and laughing courtesan." That is to say, if these figures formed a group, which is more than doubtful.

The list given above will show that Praxiteles knew well his vocation to concentrate his powers on a class of figures which, like Dionysos with his Satyrs, Aphrodite, Eros, Apollo, illustrated in their person those natural moods of the soul with which mankind was then familiar in the drama and in real life. There were everywhere to be seen statues of gods fashioned on the large ideal of majesty in form. Since they had been fashioned, many efforts had been made to introduce grace and beauty of attitude and accessories, but without essentially changing the older ideal. The tendency of these efforts had been rightly perceived by Praxiteles, and it fell to his lot to devise new types of divine form in which the moods of the soul could be fittingly expressed. That was the revolution in sculpture which he effected. To say that he was the sole mover would be an injustice to Skopas. But for the present we may regard him as heading the movement.

In the Hermes¹ of Olympia (Pl. XIX.), Praxiteles may

¹ Two excellent photographs of the Hermes will be found in the *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, v. pls. 7-8; the foot of Hermes is given in pl. 10. In restoring the right arm we must bear in mind that he is

looking forward between the child and something held in his right hand, as if observing the effect of this something on the child. A bunch of grapes has been proposed, or a pair of cymbals (Rumpf, in the



HERMES, BY PRAXITELES (OLYMPIA). GEM WITH APOLLO SAUROKTONOS.

be said to be in a measure feeling his way. The motive is, as far as may be, identical with that of his father's Eirene and Ploutos; the infant Dionysos is a counterpart of the Ploutos (Fig. 11); the head of the Hermes with all its charms, has not altogether the finished ideal type which would be expected in the later years of the sculptor; the bodily forms are of a larger mould than is associated with the developed style of Praxiteles; and lastly there is felt to be a want of creative force when we see a powerful figure leaning on a stem of a tree to support so diminutive a child. The tree stem is at once an artistic necessity and a factor in the composition of the group. Hermes is supposed to be resting in a wood. But though it is right thus to make an artistic virtue of a necessity, it must be done with sufficient skill as it is in fact done in the copies of the Satyr¹ leaning on a stem by the same sculptor (Fig. 13). He is less successful in his Apollo Sauroktonos (Pl. XXII.), where the motive, subtle as it is, does not betray imaginative power. In this respect, however, it is in advance of the Hermes. In the Hermes, the drapery is of exquisite beauty, heightened by the translucency of the marble. The face has a profuseness of subtle modulation as if of an impressionable nature, while, on the other hand, the strongly cast nose and brow appear to elevate the expression out of the human range. Whether or not in this type of

Philologus, 1881, p. 197). In any case, the right hand could not have rested on a thyrsus, as has also been proposed. A terra cotta from Tanagra, in the British Museum, represents Seilenos holding the infant Dionysos on his left shoulder, and holding a kantharos in his right hand. The kantharos was perhaps the most general symbol or accessory of Dionysos, and possibly it was it that Hermes held. For a collection of the various types of Hermes with the

infant Dionysos, so far as they are related to the Praxitelean group, see Benndorf's *Vorlegeblätter*, ser. A., pl. 12, and *Hellenic Journal*, iii. p. 81. A similar composition is presented by the Herakles carrying the infant Telephos, Visconti, *Op. Var. i.* pl. 12.

¹ Statues of this resting Satyr with more or less of variety in detail, exist to a large number. Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, gives 16 of them, on pls. 703-705, 708, 710, 711, 726g, 727, 728.

head Praxiteles was influenced by a combination of Attic and Peloponnesian tradition,¹ he does not appear to have had any occasion of employing it again. There is no other Hermes in the list of his works.

In the Apollo Sauroktonos, so far as may be judged accurately from a number of ancient copies² of it, a marked change has been wrought in the type both of the head and the figure. While the Hermes, though modelled with extraordinary subtlety, is of a robust and powerful build, the Apollo, resembling him in the easy leaning sideways, is a new creation of bodily form with a head that has equally nothing of athletic character in it. It has taken on breadth in the place of narrowness, for this reason, that pleasurable emotion is expressed in the face by a sideward movement of the muscles. Naturally the face of Apollo has less breadth than that of the Satyr, whose character it was to be permanently pleased. Almost any one³ of the numerous

¹ Kekulé, in his memoir, *über den Kopf des Praxitelischen Hermes*, sums up on p. 30 his argument that the type of head of the Hermes was derived from a combination of the influence of Ageladas and the older Attic school, which combination Myron in his day represented, as did also Pheidias. What Kekulé says of the perfect finish in conception and execution which characterises the Hermes, is very just. Brunn, in an article in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, May, 1882, p. 196, agrees with Kekulé as to the influence of Myron in the head of the Hermes, though arguing generally that Praxiteles was still young, and under the influence of his father when he executed the Hermes. I had also come to this conclusion in an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, Dec. 1880, p. 1010.

² M. Rayet (*Mon. de l'Art Ant.* pt. 2, pls. 3-5) gives three excellent photographs of *a*) the marble

statue in the Louvre, *b*) the marble statue in the Vatican, and *c*) the bronze statuette in the Villa Albani, Rome. A number of other ancient copies of the Apollo Sauroktonos exist, but of inferior merit apparently. (See Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, pl. 476*b*, Nos. 905 A-E.) In the British Museum is a small plasma intaglio of delicate workmanship, in which the right hand of the Apollo appears to be half open, as if expressing surprise at the appearance of the lizard (Pl. XX.). It is from the Towneley collection. Also a sard intaglio from the Blacas collection, on which Apollo stands with his right foot crossed over the left, holds a dart in his right hand, and wears a chlamys.

³ Take for example the marble head, evidently from the same Praxitelean type of Satyr, in the British Museum, No. 181, in the *Guide to the Græco-Roman Sculptures*, pt. i., and engraved, *Museum Marbles*, xi. pl. 16.



HYPNOS. BRONZE HEAD—LEFT WING RESTORED (BRITISH MUSEUM).

marble heads showing by their community of style and expression a common original, will attest sufficiently by its truthfulness of natural observation and the idealization of the Satyr type founded on it, that the original statue can only be traced to one of the greatest of ancient sculptors, to Praxiteles above all.

More like the Apollo in shape and breadth of face is the bronze head of Hypnos¹ in the British Museum, an original Greek masterpiece, which reveals the qualities of Praxiteles perhaps better than any other ancient work (Pl. XXI.). It shews, too, how breadth of face may lend itself, not to a permanently pleasurable expression as in the Satyr, but to a permanent possibility of quiet pleasure, such as became the silently moving but intent god of sleep. The treatment of the hair is of surpassing beauty and refinement. Nor must we omit to mention the just observation of nature which has made the wings on the temples (there is but one left) those of a night-hawk which moves without noise. It was an observation of Homer's first of all.

It is not to be supposed that this was the only type of head employed by Praxiteles. The Hermes is to some extent evidence of the contrary, and a glance at the list of his works will show that this head could not have availed him, for example in a statue of Poseidon, Hera, Rhea, or Athena. On the other hand, it could

¹ It was Benndorf who first suggested to me the resemblance of this head to that of the Apollo Sauroktonos. The head was found in the territory of the ancient Arna, near Perugia; published, *Mon. dell' Inst. Arch.* viii. pl. 59, with article by Brunn in the *Annali*, 1868, p. 351 (previously, but not well published in the *Annali*, 1856, pl. 3). Brunn, p. 356, notes that the wing is that of a night-hawk, and refers to the *Iliad* (xiv. 290), where Hypnos takes the form of a night-hawk. But the real point of the matter lies in the analogy by means of which

we are shown how sleep, like the noiseless night-hawk, visits his patients without the slightest hint of his approach. Compare the statue of Hypnos in Madrid (*Arch. Zeit.* 1862, pl. 157); another (*Arch. Zeit.* 1860, pl. 131); a relief at Pisa (*Arch. Zeit.* 1862, pl. 159, fig. 1). In a temple at Sikyon was a bronze Hypnos, of which only the head remained in the time of Pausanias (ii. 10, 2). A bronze statuette of Hypnos, found at the ancient Roman station of Etaples, is engraved, *Revue Archéol.* 1882, pl. 2, p. 7.

have been employed with modifications for his sculptures belonging to the cycle of Aphrodite and Eros, and when these have been added to the Dionysiac and Apolline cycles it will be found that a very considerable part of his artistic activity is accounted for. It is true that there are no actual heads of Aphrodite from him by which to judge. Yet there are several which cannot well be far from his type. There is, for example, the beautiful marble head found at Olympia,¹ another found at Pergamos, and there is the head of the Venus of Milo. In the Olympian head in particular, the face has assumed a nearly oval form. The hair is drawn softly away from the forehead and nothing interferes with the totality of the expression with its unconquerable power of inspiring love. Aphrodite was the ideal of this power. Eros was, so to speak, her messenger or executant. Whatever the type of head adopted for him may have been, we may be assured that it did not resemble the infant Dionysos. But to take another example, the head of the Demeter of Knidos² in the British Museum (Pl. XXIII.), will serve admirably to illustrate both

¹ Ausgrabungen, v. pl. 25, fig. A. See also Treu in the Mittheilungen des Inst. in Athen, 1881, p. 418, who speaks strongly of this Olympia head as calculated to convey an impression of the Knidian Aphrodite. The Pergamum head is published in photography in Lützow's Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, xv. (1880) p. 166. In introducing the Venus of Milo here it is not contended that the statue was executed in the time of Praxiteles, but only that it reveals in its largeness of style an original which must have been influenced by him. Somewhat different in type and Praxitelean in its beauty, is a marble head in Athens (Mittheilungen des Inst. in Athen, i. pl. 13, p. 269) which Dr. Julius rightly recognises as such. It may not be an Aphrodite but some

kindred figure. In regard to the very beautiful Oxford bust (the upper part of a statue), it has been thought to be an original work of Praxiteles. But Michaelis (Ancient Marbles in Great Britain, p. 556) considers that an exaggeration of its merits, though these he admits to be high: I have heard it assigned to an earlier period than Praxiteles, not without reason.

² Brunn has published a very ample memoir on this head in the Transactions of the R. Soc. of Literature, N. S. xi. p. 80, with plate, but he does not venture to assign it to any particular school beyond hinting at the presence of the famous Aphrodite of Praxiteles at Knidos. Dr. Julius (Mittheilungen des Inst. in Athen, i. p. 273) refers it directly to the school of Praxiteles.



APOLLO SAUROKTONOS. MARBLE STATUE.

the finish of execution and the manner of conception of Praxiteles. Whoever the sculptor may have been—and the favour in which Praxiteles stood in Knidos suggests a sculptor of his school—the task before him was to produce a divine face which should combine the alternating grief and joy of Demeter, grieving all the winter at the absence of her daughter Persephone, and rejoicing through the whole summer in her presence. That would be his task if he were to realise Demeter in her full force. But in ancient art, so far as we know, these two sides of her character were taken separately, and it does not appear that Praxiteles was an exception in this respect. For there are mentioned among his works the Rape of Persephone and the *Katagusa*,¹ by which appears to be meant her return. A single statue of Demeter could not have been represented rejoicing, because her joy came from the presence of her daughter. The only alternative is a grieving Demeter, her grief lightened by the prospect of the return of Persephone. Such is the current explanation of the Knidos head. But there is against it the very obvious fact that Demeter had no such prospect; she searched all the world through for her lost daughter in the deepest anguish. The explanation here quoted implies that she had become accustomed to her annual loss. But to the Greeks it was ever fresh. The face of the Demeter of Knidos has the

¹ M. Heuzey in the *Gaz. des Beaux Arts*, xii. (1875) p. 193, publishes several examples of a not uncommon group in terra cotta representing a female figure carrying another on her back, and though he is aware (p. 194) that this action resembles that of the Greek game called Ephedrismos or Hippias, he prefers to regard it as illustrating the *Katagusa* *i.e.* Demeter carrying back Persephone. This idea has found no favour. See Rayet, *Mon. de l'Art Ant.* pt. i. pl. 13, and Robert, *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, p. 78, pl. 5.

Farther from the mark seems to be the suggestion of Loeschcke (*Arch. Zeit.* 1880, p. 102) that *κατάγουσα* may be derived from *κατάγειν* to spin, and may mean only a "Spinnendes Mädchen." The difficulties of interpretation in this instance are very fairly discussed by R. Förster (*Raub und Rückkehr der Persephone*, p. 102), who reasonably proposes to read (p. 105) *koragusa* for *katagusa*; and since it was Hekate not Demeter who led back Persephone, this epithet of Pliny's would apply to her.

breadth which is associated with a simple and natural joyousness, while her look is fixed as if from some incidental cause, such as the carrying away of her daughter would be. We could imagine the statue to have been part of a group with Persephone, perhaps also with Hades, all the more readily because the statue was found in precincts sacred to those three deities of the lower world.¹ The softened, sympathetic beauty of the face of the Demeter is injured by the high triangular form of her forehead.

Turning now to the attitudes favoured by Praxiteles we may notice first, the varying degrees of repose in the Hermes, the Apollo Sauroktonos, and the Satyr. In the Hermes it is repose combined with the easy task of pleasing the young Dionysos; in the Apollo it is repose slightly interrupted for a moment by the appearance of the lizard; in the Satyr it is an enjoyment of repose. Here, however, it is to be remembered that these are not mortal but ideal beings, and that the sculptor, while assigning them repose on the analogy of nature, could only do so within the limits of his ideal. At the same time he has gone very far on the analogy of nature² in the case of the Apollo, so much so that but for the noble type of the form, the statue might at first sight appear to be a *genre* subject. Apollo has been standing leaning on a tree, very idly, as may be seen from the position of his left foot. The sudden appearance of a lizard running up the stem has discomposed him only so far that he has raised his left arm a little to be out of its way, while with his right hand he prepares to slay or dislodge the lizard, towards which his face is bent. It is an instantaneous but a very slight movement; the easy attitude of the left foot is undisturbed. It seems

¹ Newton, Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidos and Branchidæ, i. pl. 55, engraves the statue of Demeter. For the circumstances of its discovery see his vol.ii. p.381.

² Possibly it was in such instances

that the veritas consisted for which Quintilian (Inst. Orat. xii. 10, 9) praises him; Brunn (Gr. Künstler, i. 353) thinks it consisted in truthful rendering of the superficial aspects of the form.



Marble Statue of Demeter.—British Museum.

to be a mere amusement to slay the creature. The difficulty is to understand how Apollo could have come to be a lizard-slaying god, and how, granting that he was known as Sauroktonos, he could have been represented discharging such a function so idly.¹ Only a novel type of youthful beauty and grace could have justified the bringing of a god so close to the analogy of nature. Praxiteles, we may conclude, was fully conscious of his powers in this direction.

The three principal examples of this type of Apollo are the two marble statues in the Louvre and the Vatican, and the bronze statuette in the Villa Albani.² Both the statues are of Greek marble, that of the Louvre being considerably the finer in point of sculpture. The forms are youthful; yet it is a youthfulness which is absolute and complete within itself, without promise of development, and without indication of an earlier stage. It is a rapid maturity of youth, such as from its occasional analogies among mankind, and its abundant analogies in the lower orders of nature, might well tempt a sculptor to seize and appropriate it for Apollo, though it could never satisfy a sculptor of a powerful imagination. The next stage of such youthful forms is decay. It is an answer that Apollo had no later stage, but it is not an artistically satisfying answer, except for a sculptor like Praxiteles. On the other hand nothing short of the most consummate technical skill can render

¹ On this point Friederichs, *Bausteine*, No. 445, after pointing out that the lizard from its religious associations with soothsaying could hardly have been other than protected by Apollo, concludes that in the statue is represented a mere youthful sport of the god. But Rayet (*Mon. de l'Art Ant.* pt. 2) discusses the question very fully with the result that a Greek sculptor would not have represented a god in so playful an act unless it had been consecrated by tradition.

It is of course possible that the epithet of Sauroktonos applied to the statue by Pliny, represented a real function of Apollo. But it is probable, on the other hand, that it was currently a mere explanatory epithet of this statue.

² The best illustrations of them are those of M. Rayet, *Mon. de l'Art Ant.* pt. 2, pls. 3-5. The Villa Albani statuette (over 1 ft. high) is engraved in Clarac, *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 486A, No. 905E, the Vatican statue in Clarac, pl. 475, No. 905A.

these forms, so subtle are they in line and surface. Praxiteles saw his opportunity and seized it. The effect of his example may be traced in the number of youthful Apollos¹ still existing, ripe in their forms and leaning sideways gently, with just enough of action to bring out a vast complex of subtle movement over the surface of the whole organism. The so-called Apollino of Florence will serve as an illustration of this class. Another variety is that of the Apollo, resting with a lyre at his left side, and his right arm thrown up over his head.²

Between Apollo and a Satyr there was a difference which told both for and against Praxiteles. It told for him that a Satyr from his lower nature could be represented, with perfect unity in the idea, leaning idly against a tree. But it told against the sculptor, again from the lower nature of the Satyr, that he could not justly be rendered with the countless refinements of form proper to a god. There was even no necessity that he should be youthful in figure. But Praxiteles chose that he should be so, and it is not improbable that he was the first to make this choice. It could not be the youthfulness of the palaestra; for the Satyrs lived in the joyousness of open air and the ripe seasons of the year. From this source of belief it was necessary to idealize new youthful forms and a new type. How far Praxiteles succeeded can only be judged now from the series of statues of Satyrs to which reference has already been made in describing the types of head and the attitudes of youthful repose

¹ Clarac, Musée de Sculpture, pl. 477, No. 912c. For other examples see pl. 479, Nos. 916, 917, 919. Friederichs, Bausteine, No. 446, speaks highly of the soft and tender grace of the Apollino, and judges it to be a copy from a colossal statue.

² Such examples of this type as the marble statue from Cyrene in the British Museum, have no doubt

been largely affected by later influences than those of Praxiteles. The Farnese Apollo in the British Museum with right arm over head, is Praxitelean only in motive and general aspect, the refinements and subtleties of detail, characteristic of that master, being almost entirely left out of account. Compare also Clarac, Mus. de Sculpt. pl. 480, No. 921b, and pl. 490, No. 954.

adopted by him. So far as the original may be imagined from these copies we may conclude that its fame in antiquity arose from its completeness and unity as an ideal conception of the Satyr nature which we have just indicated.¹

The list of the works of Praxiteles contains only two Satyrs, the one, of marble, at Megara, the other of bronze, at Athens. Nothing as to attitude or style is known of the statue at Megara. Nor does it here come into question; for the ancient copies of which we are speaking have manifestly followed a bronze original, as the treatment of the hair shows.² They followed, then, the "Periboetos" or "famous" Satyr, and we may take it that it was to the statue in the street of tripods at Athens that this epithet was applied.³ The street was so named from the tripods erected in it to celebrate

¹ The Satyr stands naturally leaning on a tree, which indicates the woody country in which he lives; and here the tree stem is at once a sculptor's support necessary for the figure and an essential part of the idea—more so, as we have said, than in the Hermes or the Apollo. Compare Friederichs (Praxiteles, p. 19) who after describing the usual notions in regard to the Satyrs in poetry and the drama, as being a wild sort of half animal half man, concludes that Praxiteles by idealizing their nature as he did produced an artistic creation which must have been as surprising in its way as was the Zeus of Pheidias.

² Græco-Roman copyists when they had a marble original to work from, succeeded fairly well in the rendering of the hair; so also when the bronze original was archaic in its treatment of the hair. But when they had a free rendering of hair in bronze to copy, they fell consistently into a manner which can scarcely be described from its want of truthfulness to anything at all.

³ Pausanias, i. 20, 1, says of the statue in the street of Tripods, *Πραξιτέλην λέγεται φρονῆσαι μέγα* and proceeds to tell how Phryne, to find out which of his works he himself valued most, contrived to send a sudden message to him that his workshop was on fire. Whereupon he exclaimed that he was undone if the Satyr and the Eros were destroyed by fire. Phryne then chose the Eros. From the construction of the sentence of Pausanias at this point, it has been argued that the Satyr just referred to as being in the workshop of Praxiteles, was afterwards placed in a temple of Dionysos and was not identical with the Satyr in the Tripod Street which gave the occasion for the tale of Phryne. But this is extremely improbable. The arguments are given and shown to be improbable by Friederichs, Praxiteles, p. 12. See also Visconti's description of the Vatican Satyr, Mus. Pio-Clement. ii. p. 215, pl. 30.

choragic victories in the theatre near by. The monument of Lysikrates, or Lantern of Demosthenes as it is often called, is one of these choragic monuments, and illustrates the extent of artistic ability that was lavished on them. The tripods were of bronze, says Pausanias, and enclosed beautiful works of sculpture, among which was the Satyr of Praxiteles. But "enclosed" may not mean, as has been thought,¹ enclosed by the legs of the tripod. A circle of columns supporting a roof on which was the tripod, as in the monument of Lysikrates, might effectively enclose a bronze statue of a Satyr standing in indolent repose. On the other hand a bronze statue in the place of the column which in large tripods formed a central support, is the more readily conceivable in this instance when it is remembered that the Hermes at Olympia stood between two of the interior columns of the Heraeum. Two of the legs of the tripod, if vertical, as they probably were, would similarly frame and define the outlines of the Satyr. The distance between the columns at Olympia was about $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet; but we may freely imagine the Satyr to have been considerably smaller than the Hermes.

It will be observed in the Satyr, as well as in the

¹ Friederichs, Praxiteles, p. 15, accepts as quite certain, Müller's notion that the statues stood between the legs of the tripods. It is, as he says, true, that in the monument of Lysikrates the spaces between the columns are walled up, but it does not follow that this was always the case. Indeed it looks hardly likely to have been but an exception, so difficult is it to understand what purpose was to be served by such walling up of the voids between the columns. Leake, *Topography of Athens*, i. p. 285, explains that the interior face of the capitals is worked, but not with so much finish as the exterior, and probably therefore it was part of the original plan to wall

up the spaces. This however need have been no rule for other and earlier monuments of the same class. Stuart, *Ant. of Athens*, i. pl. 24, represents the monument of Lysikrates, and on pl. 22, fig. 5, gives a restoration of the tripod which surmounted it, with three vertical legs. As it is probable that the Aphrodite by Polykleitos and the female figure holding a lyre by Aristandros made for the bronze tripods dedicated at Amyklæ by Lysander stood within the legs of the tripods, there would then be a good precedent for Praxiteles to have followed in placing his Satyr within the legs of the tripod (Pausanias, iii. 18, 5).

Apollo, that one foot is made to twine round behind the heel of the other, and so to gain an additional touch of repose. This in itself is a true study of nature, and might have been employed in the Hermes also, but for the massiveness of the upper part of the group, for which a less easy attitude of the legs was imperative.¹ In the Apollo there was seen to be a slight conflict between the easy position of the legs and the sudden action of the upper part of the figure.² In the Satyr all this is brought into perfect harmony. As an ideal he is nearer to the actual and universal human nature, from which the artist's observations were made, in respect of easy youthful repose, intervening in a life of joyous activity.³ How well such a figure was suited to its destination as a monument of a choragic victory in the theatre of Dionysos hard by, it is unnecessary to say. Probably the Satyr at Megara was of a different attitude. It was of marble, and was placed beside an ancient image of Dionysos in a temple of that god. Of Dionysos himself Praxiteles made a statue for Elis, but of what type it was, there is no record. Of the Dionysiac retinue, Maenads and Sileni are mentioned among his works to be seen in Rome. Possibly, like the Cane-phori, with which they are there associated, they were treated as more or less subservient to purposes of utility, just as the famous Satyr in Athens was treated, if it is correctly assumed to have stood in the centre of a tripod.

¹ It is difficult to be quite certain about the position of the left leg from below the knee: but the foot could not have been twined round behind the right heel.

² Visconti, *Mus. Pio-Clem.* ii. p. 216, speaks of *cette position des jambes un peu rustique* with reference to this statue.

³ Brunn, in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, May, 1882, p. 200, examines minutely a marble torso of a Satyr in the Louvre, without head and arms, the right leg and the left leg

from below the knee being wanting. He concludes (p. 202) that it is actually the remains of the famous (Peribœtos) Satyr of Praxiteles (*Dass ich in dem uns erhaltene Torso das original des im Alterthum so berühmten Satyr, ein zweites Originalwerk des Praxiteles erkenne*). That seems to be going far, even if it were proved that the Peribœtos was a marble statue and not a bronze in the street of tripods.

Venerable images in the temples, much as their rudeness might be objected to, could not well be superseded. The alternative, apparently, was to place beside them a figure or figures embodying some expansion of the original idea, and treated according to the most advanced style of art of the time. Such, for example, was the Satyr at Megara by Praxiteles, and such also were his marble statues in the same place, representing Peitho and Paregoros, as companions to the ancient ivory image of Aphrodite. How the grouping was effected, is not said. We can imagine that the Peitho and Paregoros stood together on one side of the goddess to balance the Eros, Himeros, and Pothos of Skopas on the other side.¹ Such combinations of Aphrodite and her offshoots are not infrequent on the painted vases of a good period; but the arrangement of the figures is seldom of any use as an analogy for the grouping of statues. This, however, they show clearly, the strong tendency of the time towards the expression of a refined sentiment in the forms and bearing of the figures. It is a refinement of sentiment which is a distinct advance on that of the Nike Balustrade, and we may suppose that the relationship in which it stood towards the older vase painting was much the same as the relation of Praxiteles to the sculptor of the Balustrade. Peitho and Paregoros would naturally be draped figures, and of no large scale if they were in proportion to the central image, which in ordinary circumstances would be of moderate dimensions. The statue of Tyche at Megara would be another instance of a draped female figure by Praxiteles, just as she was also an instance of that refining idealization which we have seen was begun under his father Kephisodotos. It would be interesting to know whether the Tyche held in her

¹ This, no doubt, would imply worked with a common plan. But that Skopas and Praxiteles had that is not at all unreasonable.

arms the infant Ploutos, as in the group of Xenophon at Thebes.¹

Equally with the Satyr, Praxiteles, it was said, admired his statue of Eros. It does not appear, that ancient copyists took the same view; for in the very large number of figures of that god still existing it has not been found possible to agree upon any one as directly reproducing the Praxitelean original.² That, however, may be accounted for by the constant fertility with which new variations of Eros were produced down to Roman times, with the necessary result of withdrawing attention from any particular statue as a standard type. Of the two statues of Eros by Praxiteles, the one found its way to Thespiae, the other was made for that other seat of the worship of this god, Parion on the Propontis; and although no copy of either is known to exist, we may go so far as to assume in regard to both that the figure was of a somewhat riper youth than in the Eros of the Parthenon frieze. The sculptor who failed with his infant Dionysos, would hardly have succeeded with an infantile Eros; while on the other hand his perfect control over ripe youthful forms would lead him to bestow them also on the not too strictly defined age of the god of love. If it were certain that the marble statue brought by Lord Elgin from Athens, and commonly called Eros (Pl. XVII.), is in reality rightly so named, it could, perhaps better than any other extant sculpture, serve to illustrate the type of Praxiteles. The want of wings is a serious objection;³ yet the

¹ Pausanias, ix. 16, 1.

² The Eros of Centocelle, in the Vatican (Visconti, Mus. Pio Clem. i. pl. 12), has been thought to be from an original of Praxiteles. But Friederichs, Bausteine, No. 448, has pointed out that the expression has far too much of melancholy for an Eros of Praxiteles, while, among others, Overbeck, Gr. Plastik, 3rd ed. ii. p. 33,

does not think that the figure can at present be accepted as Praxitelean. But Friederichs, in an earlier work (Praxiteles, p. 23), had concluded that this figure had been derived from an original of Praxiteles.

³ Found on the acropolis, and now in the British Museum; Mus. Marbles, ix. pls. 2-3; Clarac, Mus. de Sculpt. pl. 650D, No. 1478D;

straps across the body could scarcely belong to any other than Eros. More than that, they show by being sculptured only on the front of the figure that the back was at least not meant to be seen closely. For a similar reason the wings may have been left out of consideration. In any case, the sculpture is of the age and school of Praxiteles ; maintaining his type of youth, his proportions, his softly yet carefully marked forms, idealized from that general aspect of youthfulness when the fleshy forms of boyhood are rapidly passing over to those of virile strength. At the same time, there is not in this statue the finish that is found in the Hermes. Nor is there in the pose the sentiment which pervades the Apollo, the Satyr and the Hermes. Yet when dissociated from Aphrodite, an Eros from the hands of Praxiteles must have been possessed of this sentiment. It was not as an accessory of Aphrodite, but as an independent deity that he had been worshipped at Thespieae from remote times, at first under the form of a rude unhewn stone.¹ Not only, therefore, was there no need of representing him with the aspect of boyhood proper to a dependence on Aphrodite, but it may even be taken to have been necessary to invest him with riper forms. The same would be true of the statue at Parion² where the worship was identical with that of

Friederichs, *Bausteine*, No. 447, lays great stress on the want of wings, and proposes to call the figure an Apollo. This fine and delicate statue, he says, is an original work of the best period of Greek art in the 4th cent. B.C.

¹ Pausanias, ix. 27, 1. Compare Welcker, *Götterlehre*, i. p. 348. How the Thespieae worship of Eros came to be planted in Parion on the Propontis, is not clear. Parion was an Ionian colony from Erythrae.

² Visconti, *Mus. Pio Clem.* i. pl. 12, thinks that the Eros of Centocelle, in the Vatican, may re-

present the Parion figure. This he repeats in his *Mon. Borghes.* pl. 13, p. 109, while explaining the so-called Genius of Praxiteles. With regard to the bronze Eros described by Kallistratos (stat. 3), as having stood with his right arm bent up over his head, and with a bow in his left hand, it seems to me highly unprofitable to attempt to form a definite opinion from such verbiage. There is no proof whatever that Kallistratos either knew, or cared to know that the Eros he was describing was the work of Praxiteles, if, indeed, he was not merely describing some

Thespieae. The Eros of Thespieae, after having been carried off by Caligula, and sent back again by Claudius, was again carried off by Nero and perished in the fire of Rome.

If Eros could be rendered in sculpture as an independent deity, still more so could Aphrodite. Praxiteles made five statues of her. At present, however, only two of them come into consideration, the one at Knidos, the other in Kos, the one nude, the other draped. It was a nude Aphrodite that he had provided for the people of Kos. But they, although such a thing was by no means a novelty, objected to it. Thereupon he made them a new statue, not necessarily entirely draped, but probably resembling in this respect the Venus of Milo. Meantime the nude Aphrodite was disposed of to the town of Knidos, where for long it enjoyed an unusual celebrity. It was copied on coins of that town in the age of Caracalla and Plautilla. It is imitated in a small marble statuette in the British Museum, from Antarados, in which, though the execution is poor, the general character has been preserved. It was reproduced in a number of statues of which the Capitoline Venus is a familiar type,¹ and



Fig. 13. —Venus of Milo. Marble statue (Louvre).

general recollection of a statue seen somewhere or other, such, for example, as an Eros of the type in Dresden (Overbeck, Gr. Plastik,

3rd ed. ii. p. 35).

¹ The coins in question are engraved in the Arch. Zeit. 1876, p. 149, with an article by Michaelis,

the Venus de Medici a variation in respect of the accessories at her side. With her there is a dolphin to indicate the ocean from which the goddess sprang; but in the Capitoline Venus there is a vase with drapery, and on the coins it is a vase down upon which she is letting fall her robe. Nearest to the coins, and therefore nearest to the motive of the original, is a statue in the Vatican, also laying aside her robe on a vase.¹ In the statuette just mentioned the vase is merely sculptured on the stem which serves as a support for the drapery and the figure. Probably this is nearest of all to the original motive. It is explained that this letting fall of her robe is the last act before entering a bath. If it is a bath in the sea the presence of the vase must be admitted to be awkward, unless its function be identical with that of the vase constantly associated with river gods in later art. Yet it must be to the sea where she was born that she is represented as returning. Her look round and expression

and in Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. ii. p. 30, who gives a third coin with a nude figure forming a group with the Aphrodite. To the coins may be added a small intaglio of rude workmanship inscribed ΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΥ and belonging to Mr. Evans. The type is the same as that of the coins, *i.e.* Aphrodite standing nude to front, looking to left and holding drapery above a vase on the left. The Capitoline Venus is engraved in Müller-Wieseler's *Denkmäler*, pl. 26, fig. 278, and Clarac, *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 626B, No. 1383D; Visconti, *Op. Var.* iv. pl. 11, p. 63. Friederichs, *Bausteine*, No. 585, regards it as a Greek work of the period after Alexander the Great.

¹ Visconti, *Mus. Pio Clement.* i. pl. 11, p. 111. The lower half of the figure as there engraved is draped, but the drapery is merely stucco put on in mock modesty. Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, pl. 12, also publishes this figure with

others, arguing rightly that she is in the act of laying aside her robe, not of catching at it in alarm at the approach of some one. The Capitoline Venus, the Venus de Medici (Clarac, pl. 612, No. 1357), the Venus in the British Museum (*Mus. Marbles*, xi. pl. 34; Clarac, pl. 619, No. 1389A) and others may be regarded as subsequent variations of the original type. The Venus of Munich (Clarac, pl. 618, No. 1377) holds drapery at her side and is only a slight variation from the original. Friederichs, *Praxiteles*, p. 41, praises the Munich statue extravagantly. A bronze statuette in the British Museum, of Etruscan workmanship, and to some extent archaic or perhaps rather pseudo-archaic (*Mus. Chiusino*, ii. pl. 203) presents a motive resembling that of the Medici Venus. Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, p. 218, calls it late Etruscan, but that is hardly the case.

of modesty is consistent only with that, not to say that any other interpretation would not be conducive to a reverential regard for the goddess. The vase then is, in its full significance, an artistic accessory required to support the drapery: only in a remote sense can it be construed into the subject as a necessary part of it. In this respect it is like the tree stump on which the Hermes leans. We must suppose that in the Knidian statue the vase was little noticeable beside the splendour of forms in the Aphrodite, and that its comparative prominence in later copies arose from the desire of the copyists to produce a general impression of a goddess entering a bath suitable to the tastes of their time.¹ In this spirit they would naturally also import into the figure itself as much as they could of the timidity and shrinking from shame which characterise the copies now existing. All this must be deducted from the original of Praxiteles, if it be admitted that his ideal was that of an Aphrodite preparing to enter the sea from which she arose. Nothing else seems reasonable consistently with reverence for the statue. As such she would be a goddess of the sea and was thus properly enough known as Urania.

While Pheidias had represented Aphrodite nude both in her rising from the sea, and again in her appearance on the side of the sea-god in the west pediment of the Parthenon, Praxiteles may be said to have invented

¹ Visconti, *Op. Var.* iv. p. 64, speaks of the long fringed drapery beside the Capitoline Venus as a bath towel, and as indicating the care of her person which Aphrodite displayed. No doubt that was the notion of later times when such variations of the Knidian goddess were produced. But it could not well have been the idea of a goddess in a temple at the time of Praxiteles. Visconti, *loc. cit.*, praises very highly the rendering of the flesh in the Capitoline statue.

The torso of a small statue formerly in Richmond House, now in the British Museum (*Mus. Marbles*, xi. pl. 35; Friederichs, *Bausteine*, No. 592) is of the same style, but whether it represented the same motive may be doubted. Another variety of the type may be seen in the small marble Venus in the British Museum found in an ancient bath at Ostia. Without the restorations it would be a fairly good figure, and is interesting as showing that such figures were set

the contrast of her returning to the ocean.¹ That she returned to the water only for the sake of a bath was evidently what was thought in later times, and, indeed, with a motive so slightly founded as this was in religious belief it could hardly have been otherwise. But it does not follow that Praxiteles, slight as was the motive, did not produce a statue capable of pure reverence.

As a rule nudity in a female figure had been a reproach. The culminating outrage in the Phigaleian frieze is to spoil a Lapith woman of her dress. On an early vase in the British Museum nude maenads dance with satyrs; but the scene is intended to be a scandal. The surprise of Artemis by Aktaeon and of Thetis by Peleus are both deeds of violence. On the other hand, where no surprise was involved, and where the motive of returning to the sea was indicated, there need have been no insuperable obstacle in the nudity of Aphrodite for a great master of delicate form and refined sentiment. In this respect the Aphrodite of Knidos may well be supposed to have far excelled the copies now in existence, though at the same time it can hardly be denied that she had also indicated the path which they have successfully followed in debasing the goddess to an ornament for baths. It has been argued with good reason that the large bronze head from Asia Minor in the British Museum had belonged to a statue copied from the Knidian Aphrodite (Pl. XXIV.), reliance being placed not only on the expression of the face, but on the fact that there was found with it a left hand, holding the end of a piece of drapery, as in that figure.² Notwithstanding a

up in baths. Mus. Marbles, ii. pl. 22; Friederichs, Bausteine, No. 595.

¹ On the introduction of the nude Aphrodite in art, see Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, p. 203. Nothing short of a powerful or apparently powerful motive could have led the Greeks to tolerate a nude Aphrodite at first; but when once the thing

had been done, it appears to have found favour with certain classes and to have been even allowed by others with perhaps some reserve. Compare Veit Valentin, *Die Hohe Frau von Milo*, p. 38.

² Engelmann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, pl. 20, p. 150, is the author of this ingenious argument. Various names have been proposed for this

want of refinement in some of the locks of hair, and in the ears, the head may be said to present just such a type of Aphrodite as would, by its large and simple forms, its soft yet commanding expression, powerfully assist in rendering a nude figure of the goddess worthy of reverence first, and worthy of artistic admiration afterwards. Apparently the Knidian statue stood within a small shrine, open, according to one authority, all round. Another writer says it had a door both in the front and at the back, so that both sides of the figure might be seen, and that seems the more probable arrangement of the two.¹ In either case, it will be remembered that a statue, closely surrounded and, so to say, framed by columns, is what we have already seen in regard to the Hermes, and conjectured as possible in regard to the Satyr.

Many have been the discussions on the Venus of Milo, whether she belongs to the school of Praxiteles or not, some placing her as early as Alkamenes, others as late as the second century B.C.² Probably the most judicious

head, but I cannot help thinking that Engelmann's view is correct.

¹ Pliny, N. H. xxxvi. 21, *Aedicula ejus tota aperitur ut conspici possit undique effigies*. Lucian, *Amores*, 13, calls the shrine *amphithyros*, and speaks of going round to the back of the cella, and having the door at the back opened to see the statue.

² Veit Valentin, *Die Hohe Frau von Milo*, in a singularly appreciative examination of the statue, concludes (p. 38) for a date between that of Pheidias and Praxiteles, and argues (p. 46), that the artist's name on the missing part of the base, could only be the name of one who had altered or restored the statue. Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, p. 156, after admitting the possibility of her being the work of the school of Skopas, concludes in favour of Alkamenes,

while Overbeck contends for the 2nd cent. B.C. in the *Berichte d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen*, Nov. 1881, and Gr. *Plastik*, 3rd ed. ii. p. 329, fig. 140, where he gives an engraving of the statue with the fragment of the base bearing the name of the artist Alexandros of Antioch on the Mæander. This inscribed fragment of the base is now missing, and is supposed to have been destroyed by the authorities of the Louvre, who were convinced that the statue was the work of Praxiteles (see Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 334). Friederichs, however, is not at all convinced of the late origin of the statue, which is implied by the fact that Antioch on the Mæander, the native place of the artist, was a town of post-Alexandrian foundation. The statue was found in 1820, in the island of Melos, and is usually said to be of

choice would be the earlier date, admitting at the same time that the actual execution of the sculpture was by an artist of the 2nd century, to whom some allowances may be made for departure from the original.¹ In this view of the case we obtain an illustration of the type of Aphrodite which would naturally have influenced Praxiteles so far as his general treatment of forms and aspect was concerned, and we gain also a conception of the goddess sufficiently noble and elevated to have enabled him to go a step further in rendering her entirely nude without offence, except perhaps in Kos. That she does not in fact answer to any of the statues of Aphrodite by Praxiteles, it is impossible to say, so long at least as her attitude defies a completely satisfactory explanation.² Had she formed part of a group with

Parian marble. M. Aicard, *La Vénus de Milo*, gives an interesting account of the finding of the statue, and a history of proposed restorations.

¹ Benndorf (*Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, iv. p. 66, pls. 1-2), comparing the head of this statue with a marble head of Aphrodite from Tralles now in Vienna, recognises a slight inferiority in the Milo head, and argues that both have been derived from a common original, and that in fact the Venus of Milo is not the original work, which she is so often thought to be.

² Overbeck, first in the *Berichte d. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen.* 1881, p. 92, and afterwards in his *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. ii. p. 332, gives an elaborate examination of the various attempts at restoration, concluding in favour of Millingen's theory (*Uned. Mon.* ii. pl. 6), which makes her stand holding sideways the shield of Ares, but with the addition of a pillar at her left side on which the shield could rest. So also, in general, Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, p.

144, approves of this view, and on the whole it may now be said few supporters are found for such proposed restorations as that of a group with Aphrodite and Ares, Aphrodite and Eros, or a single figure holding out an apple. Kekulé, *Arch. Zeit.* 1873, pl. 16, p. 136, concludes against the probability of the left hand holding an apple having belonged to the statue, though it is said to have been found with it. Fränkel, on the other hand, *Arch. Zeit.* 1873, p. 36, would admit as at least very probable the connection of the hand with the apple. But the apple in this case he shows would belong to Aphrodite herself (possibly here in reference to the island of Melos), not as a symbol in the judgment of Paris. Veit Valentin, however, *Die Hohe Frau von Milo*, after a long examination of the various proposals, concludes for a group of Aphrodite and Ares, of which he gives a drawing, pl. iv. fig. 13, cf. p. 36, and it certainly cannot be denied that groups of Aphrodite and Ares in which the goddess appears precisely in this

Ares or Eros, or Paris, all idea of Praxiteles would be excluded. But the arguments against a group, apart from the evidence of the now missing fragment of the plinth, must be admitted to have considerable weight. She may have stood like the Victory of Brescia, holding a shield sideways with both hands. Yet even that attitude does not appear to have a true Praxitelean stamp.

Whatever the action of her hands may have been, it is evident that they had been exercised with considerable force, since the upper part of the figure is bent not only sideways, but forward also a little, and since the motive of raising the left foot to prevent the drapery from slipping down altogether, could not be satisfactorily accounted for unless the hands which should have steadied the drapery had been occupied in an action of importance.¹ An action which so completely controls the whole pose of the figure could hardly be attributed to Praxiteles. The drapery with all its carelessness is larger and simpler in its masses than that of the Hermes; the same is true of the torso. On the other hand the head is less subtle in its modelling, and less dominant in its expression than would be expected from him, if we judge either by the bronze head in the British Museum or the beautiful marble head from Pergamos in Berlin (Pl. XXXII.).² Yet it must be somewhere between the Venus of Milo and the Capitoline Venus that the style of Praxiteles is to be looked for, and it is for this reason that she has been introduced here.

Phryne or anyone else bathing in the indescribably lovely water of Eleusis bay, would offer a natural analogy for the idea of Aphrodite returning to the sea. Prax-

attitude occur occasionally on Roman gems, as for example on a sard and a red jasper in the British Museum.

¹ A statue of Aphrodite in the Villa Albani (Clarac, Mus. de Sculpt. pl. 602, No. 1332A, and Veit Valentin, *loc. cit.* pl. 4, fig. 10) presents this same motive of

the left foot raised to prevent the drapery from falling to the ground. Unfortunately, her arms are restored, and she fails in this important respect to assist in restoring the Venus of Milo.

² Published in Lützow's *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, xv. (1880) p. 166.

iteles was acquainted with Phryne and made two statues of her, the one in marble at Thespiae, where it stood beside his Aphrodite, the other of bronze gilt at Delphi. It may well have been that she was peculiarly of such an aspect as to assist largely the sculptor's ideal of the goddess, without controlling or impressing it with her individuality. Even her portrait statues may have been greatly idealized. She could not well otherwise have been placed beside Aphrodite; and indeed others of his statues, such as the Stephanusa or female figure arranging a wreath or diadem on her head, show that he had a marked inclination with female as well as with male figures, to seize upon some slight action which would produce an attitude more attractive than the mere action itself, more exposed to observation, and therefore more available for the rendering of refined sentiment than would be an attitude proper to a more dramatic action. Whatever the ideal may be, it is necessary always to express it with the greatest economy of the artist's technical resources. Those who are richest in resources know best how to be economical of them. But in ideals like those of Praxiteles everything had to be avoided which might unnecessarily withdraw observation from the unity of form and expression in the figure, and this no doubt is why in some cases, as in the infant Dionysos on the arm of the Hermes, a really essential part of the idea is unduly weak. Figures like Agathe Tyche, and Agathos Daemon, being only slight idealizations, so far as action was concerned, appear in place in the list of his works.

At the same time it need not be supposed, because the special excellence of Praxiteles lay in one direction, that he was not also an accomplished sculptor in other and even very different classes of subjects. Yet it is substantially for this reason alone that some have proposed to transfer to the fame of his grandfather the authorship of the group of the twelve gods at Megara, the pediment sculptures at Thebes, the Hera, Athena,

and Hebe at Mantinea, and the Hera and Rhea at Plataeae, not to mention the Demeter, Kore and Iakchos already referred to in this connection.¹ No doubt there would be included also in this list the various statues of Artemis and Leto attributed to him if anything approaching a reason could be found for it. Meantime we must freely admit that at present we have no means of judging of the style or manner in which these sculptures were executed. That Praxiteles was believed in antiquity to have been capable of producing large groups of figures is implied by the doubt which existed as to

¹ As regards the Hera and Rhea at Plataeae, Klein's argument is (Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich, iv. p. 8) that Plataeae was in ruins in the time of Praxiteles, and was not restored till B.C. 324 by Alexander the Great. It had been completely destroyed B.C. 373. It had previously been destroyed by the Thebans, B.C. 426, but was rebuilt B.C. 387. Klein's argument is that the sculptures of the Heraeion could only have been executed in connection with this rebuilding, and in that case, the Praxiteles who made them, could not have been the celebrated sculptor. But Brunn (Berichte d. bayer. Akad. d. Wissen. 1880, p. 448) replies that Plataeae was rebuilt after the battle of Chaeronea, B.C. 338, and that it is by no means impossible for Praxiteles to have been actively employed down to that date. His acquaintance with Phryne, for example, would favour that view. But without admitting this, it may be asked how it came to pass that if Plataeae was completely destroyed, statues by (the older) Praxiteles and Kallimachos were still to be seen in the Heraeion in the time of Pausanias. They must have survived the general wreck, and if they were allowed to remain, it is at least not impossible to suppose that new statues may

have been commissioned of the famous Praxiteles at almost any time in the course of his career. We can imagine the Hera of Kallimachos to have been retained, and two new statues of Hera and Rhea to have been ordered of Praxiteles. It is not very probable, but it is possible.

For the assigning of the Hera Athena and Hebe at Mantinea to an older Praxiteles, Klein's arguments *loc. cit.* p. 17, are not satisfactory. See Brunn *loc. cit.* p. 444. So also, in regard to the Herakleion at Thebes, with its sculptured pediments, Klein (*loc. cit.* p. 15) would connect the Praxiteles who sculptured them, with Alkamenes, because the latter made a group of Athena and Herakles for the same building, and because a building old enough to have contained a dedication by Thrasybulus, would not naturally have remained to the time of the great Praxiteles, without its pedimental sculptures. But Brunn *loc. cit.* p. 446, rightly replies that the Herakleion at Thebes was a very ancient building, possessing even an image by Daedalos, and that, like many other temples it was probably enough rebuilt in the time of the famous Praxiteles, the dedication of Thrasybulos and other things being transferred to the new structure.

whether the group of the Niobides was by him or by Skopas, while again, in regard to the pediment sculptures at Thebes it is more than doubtful if the idea of grouping the labours of Herakles in the pediments of a temple could have occurred as possible to an earlier artist. Such subjects had hitherto found an appropriate place in the metopes, where the due progression of the hero from one labour to another was clearly and judiciously indicated. To group them in a pediment was more like the work of a man, who had no power of composing a large and complicated design, but who had very unusual power over a limited range of forms and ideas. For one who avoided dramatic action a pedimental group, being the most dramatic of all compositions, may be said to have been a strange task. Yet the nature of the subject came to his aid, inasmuch as the action was in reality confined to the individual figures, and only affected the general composition in so far as it helped to produce a converging and centralizing flow of lines. Of the labours of Herakles he omitted the shooting of the Stymphalian birds and the cleaning of the Augean stalls, giving instead of them the wrestling with Antaeos.¹ There would thus remain only eleven subjects for distribution in the two pediments if we assume that the sculptor had confined himself to the usual twelve labours. But that is not necessary, and if it were, the varying character of the different labours might easily render possible or advisable an unequal number of them in each pediment.² In any case the building must have been of comparatively small dimensions. Probably the contest with Antaeos was selected as favourable for a central group in one pediment. For the other, Herakles and Atlas would have been available. The rest of

¹ Pausanias, ix. 11, 4.

² Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. p. 207, contends that all the eleven labours were represented in one pediment, and that either the opposite pediment had no sculp-

tures, or that they were left unnoticed by Pausanias. But Pausanias says expressly *ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς*, and it is hardly possible that this phrase could be applied to one pediment.

the labours are such as would better suit the secondary places. Even then it is difficult to imagine Praxiteles giving due importance to the various monsters with which Herakles had to contend. The hero himself must always have been by far the chief figure, and in subjects which had been so often before treated realistically enough it would have been no great strain of inventive faculty to refine upon them in such a way as to give free scope for the peculiarly Praxitelean treatment.

In the statues of the twelve gods,¹ no less than in the labours of Herakles, Praxiteles would find an abundance of older models to follow or refine upon, so far as the individual figures were concerned. To have composed them into a group would indeed have been a severe task. But there is no evidence of their having been so composed. They might equally well have stood one by one between the columns in the interior of the temple, like the Hermes at Olympia. That would be quite consistent with the style and the scope of imagination possessed by Praxiteles. If then, under such circumstances, the whole of the twelve gods were within his range, it would be unreasonable to take objection to the other groups or deities attributed to him so long as there are no means of determining the conditions under which they were pre-

¹ Klein (*Arch. Epig. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, iv. p. 12) thinks it strange that there should be no mention of this group, except in Pausanias (i. 40, 2). That may be, but he is not entitled to say that the figures formed a group. No doubt, if they did form a group, there would be a temptation to imagine them, as he does, composed with the severity and dignity of the age of Pheidias. But that would be granting a very essential point, which there is no reason at all to grant. The temple where they stood was sacred to Artemis. The temple image of her was by Strongylion, and was a

restoration of an older image. Thereupon, and upon nothing else, Klein argues that the twelve gods were produced at the same time, and that the only Praxiteles who was contemporary with Strongylion, was the grandfather of the famous sculptor. Brunn (*Berichte d. bayer. Akad. d. Wissen.* 1880, p. 446,) properly takes objection to such reasoning, and points out that there were several other works of Praxiteles in Megara, as to which there is no question. Of course, that would not preclude his grandfather's having made the twelve gods, if there were any fair reason for it.

sented to the spectator. As regards the Leto with her children at Mantinea it is possible that she was represented by a female figure with an infant on each arm, a variation on the Eirene holding the infant Ploutos and the Hermes holding the infant Dionysos. That, however, could hardly have been the case if the group of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto at Megara, was in any sense a replica of it, since there the figure of Apollo seems to be specially praised in a manner inconsistent with his being an infant in the arms of his mother.¹ On the other hand, Apollo and Artemis at Megara may have stood at each side of Leto like Athena and Hebe on each side of the seated Hera at Mantinea. The Rhea at Plataeae held in her arms the stone wrapped up like a child, which she offered to Kronos to devour instead of the infant. Hera Teleia, a large statue, stood beside her apparently. In the same temple was a seated Hera by Kallimachos, and one of the arguments for the older Praxiteles is that these three figures had been made at the same time, and that therefore the Praxiteles mentioned as the sculptor of the Rhea and Hera being a contemporary of Kallimachos could not have been the famous Praxiteles, but was his grandfather.

So far then as we have been able to judge from the actual workmanship of Praxiteles, or from more or less authentic copies of the same, it has been seen that he was a sculptor whose favourite ideal had been evolved in the endeavour—not confined to him alone—to infuse a permanent and pervading sentiment into the large and noble forms of the earlier age of sculpture, the results as regards these forms being a change from impressiveness towards expressiveness or, in other words, from massiveness and simplicity towards refinement and subtlety. In some of his works, as for example, in the Knidian Aphrodite, this change may have been completely

¹ Pausanias, i. 44, 2. Klein, *loc. cit.* p. 16, thinks it probable that the group at Megara was a repetition of the group at Mantinea, and both by the older Praxiteles.

effected. But in most of them it is probable that he still retained a considerable measure of the largeness and simplicity of his predecessors. What is meant by the *circumlitio*,¹ which he is said to have employed on his marble statues is by no means certain, though the intention of it doubtless was to produce a toned surface on the marble. That he lived down into the time of Alexander the Great appears to be nearly certain; no less so that he was a younger contemporary of Skopas. We have given precedence to him for the sake of convenience in discussing the question of the older and younger Praxiteles, and because such works as the Niobides and the sculptures of the Mausoleum, in connection with which both he and Skopas are mentioned, come more appropriately under consideration after a general enquiry into the characteristics of both artists, which shall conclude with those of Skopas.



Fig. 14.—Marble head (Olympia).

¹ Pliny, N. H. xxxv. 133, speaking of the Athenian painter, Nikias, says it was he of whom Praxiteles said, on being asked which of his marble sculptures he valued most, replied: those on which Nikias had operated; tantum circumlitioni ejus tribuebat. We cannot imagine a marble statue painted to an extent which would give suitable occupation for a celebrated painter, as an assistant of the sculptor. No doubt, if colour was used at all on works

of such refinement as those of Praxiteles, it would require to be done with the utmost skill, and, of course, it is possible that Nikias may have rendered such a service from friendship. The true meaning of *circumlitio*, appears to be that assigned to it by Semper, *Der Stil*, p. 468, (compare p. 518), that is, a transparent and delicate *lasure* of the nude parts of the figure, with employment of colour on the draperies.

CHAPTER XXV.

SKOPAS.

Skopas, son of Aristandros—Influence of his father's style—Statue of Aphrodite in Elis—Works of Skopas—Sculptures of Tegea—remains of them—Comparison of his style with that of Praxiteles—Sculptures of the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos—The friezes—Sculptures in the round—Statue of Mausolos—Skopas at Ephesos—Sculptures from Priene—Statue of Apollo Smintheus—Dionysos at Knidos—Ares in Villa Ludovisi—Reliefs in Munich—Apollo Kitharoedos—Bacche Chimærophonos—Asklepios and Hygieia—Two Erinyes—Eros, Himeros, and Pothos at Megara—Aphrodite and Pothos in Samothrace—Sculptures, uncertain whether by Skopas or Praxiteles—The Niobides—Statues in Florence—Composition of the group—Marble disk with reliefs in British Museum.

To be a recognised master in the art of sculpture for no less a period than forty-four years falls to the lot of few. Yet the career of Skopas may have lasted considerably longer than this. It was forty-four years from the burning of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (B.C. 395) to the death of Mausolos, prince of Caria (B.C. 351). When the new temple at Tegea was planned—and that appears to have been immediately after the conflagration—Skopas must somehow have already attained a reputation; for he was employed both as architect and sculptor, the intention being to produce one of the most perfect temples in Greece. Again, his employment on the sculptures of the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos appears to have lasted several years. Nor does it follow from anything we know that his artistic activity closed with the Mausoleum. He was, like the marble in which he preferred to work, of Parian origin. If it be true, as is argued with much probability, that he was a son and

pupil of the Parian sculptor Aristandros,¹ that circumstance would not only afford a clue to his early employment in the Peloponnesos, as at Tegea, but would at the same time render probable some degree of artistic indebtedness on his part to the great Peloponnesian

¹ Urlichs, Skopas, p. 3. The line of argument is that, as there was subsequently an Aristandros son of Skopas, so there was most probably at an earlier time an Aristandros father of Skopas, the alternation of the two names following the frequent Greek order, as we have seen in the case of Kephisodotos and Praxiteles. Of the two bronze tripods dedicated by Lysander at Amyklæ for the battle of Ægospotamoi one was supported by a female figure holding a lyre, by Aristandros; the other by a figure of Aphrodite, by Polykleitos (Pausanias, iii. 18, 5).

As in the case of Praxiteles, so also it has been argued that there had been an older Skopas of considerable fame in Greece as a sculptor (Klein, Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich, iv. p. 22.) But the reasons are here even less satisfactory. When Pliny (xxxiv. 49) sets down Skopas to the 90th Olympiad along with Polykleitos and others, he cannot mean an older Skopas, or he would have subsequently mentioned the younger artist of that name. If he means the younger and famous sculptor there must be a mistake, and that indeed is probable on other grounds. It is true that Pliny speaks also of *Scopas uterque*, but the connection in which this word occurs shows rather that what was meant was that Skopas, like some others there mentioned, worked in both ways as a cælator and a sculptor (Brunn, Berichte d. bayer. Akad. d. Wissen. 1880, p. 457). Further it is argued that the statues of Athena at Thebes and of

Aphrodite at Elis were companion figures to statues by Pheidias, and must have been executed about the same time; so also, the two Erinyes at Athens were companions to the one figure by Kalamis, and must again, it is urged, have been executed at the same time. The Skopas then who executed these figures must have been a contemporary of Kalamis and Pheidias. That in itself would perhaps be not an impossibly long duration of artistic life. But we are next told that he was active down into the time of Alkibiades, on the ground that there was a Cupid with a thunderbolt in Rome which Pliny says had been studied from Alkibiades and which was of uncertain authorship. It is possible but not likely that Pliny means an uncertainty as between Praxiteles and Skopas. But even if he meant that, there would be no reason for deciding in favour of one more than the other. Klein, however, decides for an older Skopas, and thus gives him a very long career indeed. That two Erinyes should have been placed beside the one of Kalamis a long time afterwards is not in the least improbable, and the same applies to the Aphrodite at Elis and the Athena at Thebes (Brunn, Berichte d. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. 1880, p. 458; Urlichs, Skopas, p. 5).

The younger Aristandros appears as a contemporary of Agasias of Ephesos in an inscription found at Delos (Bullet. de Corr. Hellénique, 1881, p. 462) and in another inscription (C. I. Gr. No. 2285 b).

sculptor Polykleitos, with whom his father had been associated in at least one instance ; all the more so because Skopas, as will be seen from the list of his works, had little to do with Athens. Under his father's influence he might, while still a young man, have obtained the commission at Tegea. Nor is it perhaps without significance as to his early training that he should there have displayed, like Polykleitos, the talents of an architect as well as those of a sculptor. Aristandros worked in bronze, so far as is known, and if it is a fair inference that Skopas was his son, it may reasonably be supposed that the only sculpture in that material attributed to him, the Aphrodite in Elis, was executed under his father's influence, and, if so, at the beginning of his career previous to his final decision in favour of marble, that is to say, previous to B.C. 395. Yet it is difficult to imagine so great an honour to a young artist. For it is to be remembered that the bronze Aphrodite Pandemos in Elis was placed beside the gold and ivory Aphrodite Urania by Pheidias. That there was no artistic challenge implied by this juxtaposition is evident from the difference of material, and the entirely different attitudes of the two statues. The statue of Pheidias stood with one foot raised on the back of a tortoise ; the Aphrodite of Skopas sat on the back of a goat. The intention could only have been to complement the idea of Aphrodite by representing her in another phase of her character, possibly a phase which more recent art had made prominent. To have been employed in this sense did not necessarily imply a rank equal to that of Pheidias, though undoubtedly it was an honour to Skopas as compared with his own contemporaries. What his success may have been it is impossible to say, but his manner of treatment may in some measure perhaps be gathered from an onyx cameo of late style in the British Museum, which represents Aphrodite riding on a goat.

REFERENCES.

SUBJECT.	LOCALITY.	
Aphrodite Pandemos.	Elis.	No. 1. Bronze; seated on a goat, Epitragia—Pausanias, vi. 25, 2.
Aphrodite and Pothos.	Samothrace.	Nos. 2, 4, 5, 12, 16, 17, 23, 26, 28, 29, Pliny, N. H. xxxvi. 25: Scopas laus cum his certat. Is fecit Venerem, Pothon (et Phaethontem) qui Samothrace sanctissimis cerimoniis coluntur, item Apollinem Palatinum, Vestam sedentem laudatam in Servilianis hortis duosque lampteras circa eam quorum pares in Asinii monumentis sunt ubi et Canephoros ejusdem. Sed in maxima dignatione Cn. Domitii delubro in circo Flaminio Neptunus ipse et Thetis atque Achilles, Nereides supra delphinos et cete et hippocampos sedentes; item Tritones chorusque Phorci et pistrices ac multa alia marina omnia ejusdem manus, preclarum opus etiam si totius vite fuisset. Nunc vero præter supra dicta quæque nescimus Mars est etiamnum sedens colosseus ejusdem in templo Bruti Callaici apud circum eundem. Præterea Venus in eodem loco nuda Par hesitatio est in templo Apollinis Sosiani, Niobæ liberos morientes Scopas ex Praxiteles fecerit; item Janus Pater in suo templo dicatus ab Augusto, ex Ægypto advectus. Similiter in Curia Octaviæ quaeritur de Cupidine fulmen tenente. As regards this Cupid the context of Pliny seems rather to show that there was a doubt as to the authorship in general, not as between Scopas and Praxiteles. See Brunn, <i>Berichte d. bayer. Akad.</i> 1880, p. 461.
Eros, Himeros, Pothos	Megara.	No. 3, Pausanias, i. 43, 6. No. 6, <i>ibid.</i> ix. 10, 2.—Nos. 7-8, Pliny, xxxvi. 22: Sunt in Gnido et alia signa marmorea illustrium artificum, Liber Pater Bryaxidis et alter Scopæ et Minerva. No. 9, Anthol. Gr. (Planud.) iv. 60; Kallistratos, stat. 2; Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, Nos. 1162-1164. No. 10, Strabo, xiv. p. 640.
Aphrodite.	Rome.	No. 11, Strabo, xiii. p. 604. No. 13, Pausanias, ix. 17, 1. No. 14, <i>ibid.</i> ii. 22, 8. No. 15, <i>ibid.</i> i. 28, 6; Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, Nos. 1155-1158. No. 18, Anthol. Gr. (Planud.) iv. 192. No. 19, Pausanias, ii. 10, 1. No. 20, <i>ibid.</i> viii. 28, 1. No. 21, <i>ibid.</i> viii. 47, 1. No. 22, <i>ibid.</i> viii. 45, 4. No. 24, Pliny, xxxvi. 95. No. 27, Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, No. 1182. No. 25, Pliny, xxxvi. 30 (Cf. Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, Nos. 1177-1179) says: Scopas habuit æmulus eadem ætate Bryaxin et Timotheum et Leocharem de quibus simul dicendum est quoniam pariter calavere Mausoleum. Sepulchrum hoc est ab uxore Artemisia factum Mausolo Caria regulo qui obiit Olympiadis cviii.
Ares (sedens, colosseus)	{ Pergamos — Rome.	2. Opus id ut esset inter septem miracula, ii maximi artifices fecere. Patet ab austro et septentrione sexagenos ternos pedes, brevis a frontibus, toto circuitu pedes quadringentos undecim; attollitur in altitudinem viginti quinque cubitis; cingitur columnis triginta sex. Pteron vocavere. <i>Ab oriente calavit Scopas</i> , a septentrione Bryaxis, a meridie Timotheus, ab occasu Leochares, priusque quam peragerent regina obiit. Non tamen recesserunt, nisi absoluto jam, id gloriæ ipsorum artisque monumentum judicantes; hodieque certant manus.
Athena Pronaia	Thebes.	
Athena	Knidos.	
Dionysos	Knidos.	
Bacchante		
Leto, Ortygia, with infants		
Apollo and Artemis	{ Ephesos.	
Apollo Smintheus	Troad.	
Apollo	Rhamnus?	
Artemis Eukleia	Thebes.	
Hekate	Argos.	
Two Erinyes	Athens.	
Hestia and candelabra	Rome.	
Canephoroi.	Rome.	
Term of Hermes		
Herakles	Sikyon.	
Asklepios and Hygieia	{ Gortys, in Arcadia.	
Asklepios and Hygieia	Tegea.	
Pediments of temple	Tegea.	
Poseidon, Thetis, Achilles,		
Nereids, &c.	{ Rome.	
Sculptured column	Ephesos.	
Sculptures of Mausoleum	Halikarnassos.	
Niobides?	Rome.	
Artemis		
Janus Pater?	Rome.	
Eros holding thunderbolt	Rome.	

Though above all a sculptor, Skopas appears to have limited his labours as such for the temple of Tegea to the compositions of the pediments and to two statues of Asklepios and Hygieia within. In the front pediment was a scene particularly dear to the people of Tegea, the hunt of the Calydonian boar. The moment chosen was that in which the boar, having struck and passed Ankæos, rushes at Atalanta and Meleager, who meet it with fatal blows. Behind Atalanta and Meleager there advanced to assist them in case of need Theseus, Telamon, Peleus, Polydeukes, Iolaos, Prothöos and Kometes, doubtless one behind the other in the order here given from Pausanias, and in the left half of the pediment. The boar, he says, was very nearly in the centre, by which he may be taken to mean that the head of the boar reached to about the centre, its body extending on into the right half of the pediment. This interpretation is rendered necessary by the fact that Pausanias gives only six heroes on the right side to balance nine on the left. With the boar on the one side a fair balance would be effected if that creature were rendered in keeping with its fame as a huge monster.¹ The tusks and hide of the real boar had been saved from the burning of the old temple, and were afterwards preserved in the new. In most of

¹ Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. p. 199, suggests, in regard to the inequality of numbers in the two halves of the pediment, that Pausanias may have omitted names which he thought unimportant, or that some names have fallen out of the text. Urlichs, *Skopas*, p. 20, objects to this very properly, though his proposal to occupy part of the space with an indication of the locality where the boar was found is even more objectionable. There is no difficulty in the arrangement we have adopted, and as to fifteen being a small number of figures for the pediment of a large temple, it is to be remembered that the wide separation of figures which we find on

the Mausoleum frieze as compared with older friezes very probably had its counterpart in the disposition of statues in a pediment.

Treu, in the *Mittheilungen des Inst. in Athen*, 1881, p. 399, calculates on good grounds that the clear height of the pediment in the centre would only be a little over the life-size of a male figure. From the remaining fragment of the boar's head he reckons (p. 402), the full length of the animal to have been about 2 metres, and argues that it could not have balanced three figures on the other side. He proposes to place Atalanta on the side of the boar, keeping it on the right side of the pediment.

the representations of this celebrated hunt the boar rushes straight at his assailants, or draws himself back as they advance. But on a beautiful red figure kylix in Berlin one of the heroes receives him on his spear, and throws him up on his hind legs, while Meleager closes upon him with his club raised to give a final blow.¹ Such an arrangement would suit admirably the form of a pediment towards its centre. Of the rest of the composition there is at present nothing more to be said than that the group of Epochos supporting the wounded Ankæos, whose axe was falling from his hand, was probably rendered much as in the reliefs representing this hunt on the heröon at Gjölbaschi in Lycia, now in Vienna.²

Of the sculptures in the west pediment Pausanias merely says that the subject was the combat of Telephos and Achilles in the plain of the Kaïkos. Though this incident occurred in Teuthrania, when the Greeks were ravaging it during the Trojan expedition, and though Telephos there opposed them as prince of the country, he was yet peculiarly a local hero of Tegea. On the coins of that town he is figured as an infant being suckled by a deer, and on the chief temple, if not in the most conspicuous place of it, he was naturally represented in a scene in which he encountered the greatest of national

¹ Engraved in Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, iv. pl. 327-328. For the usual type of boar hunt, see *Mon. dell' Inst.* iv. pls. 54-55, and pl. 59, an archaic vase in the British Museum (*Maisonnette*, Introduction, pl. 27), and in general *Kekulé*, *De Fabula Meleagrea*. A bronze figure in the British Museum (*Mon. dell' Inst.* 1854, fig. 8, p. 49) sometimes called Meleager in the act of striking down at the boar, is of a later style than that of Skopas and would not well suit the centre of a pediment. It is more like the attitude of a Greek striking down at a fallen Amazon.

² *Ulrichs*, *Skopas*, p. 38, proposed to recognise in the well known Pasquino group in Rome the general motive at least of the group by Skopas at Tegea as against the not unfrequent design of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles over his shoulders. The style of the Pasquino sculpture is very highly praised, perhaps too highly, in the *Annali dell' Inst.* 1870, p. 94. But the discovery of the Lycian sculptures may be held to determine the true aspect of the motive of Skopas. See *Benndorf*, *Arch. Epig. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*. 1882, p. 204, pl. 7-8.

heroes, Achilles; it is true that he was there wounded, but even his wound had a special interest attaching to it. Telephos had before slain the Greek Thersandros, and it has been supposed that it was over the body of that warrior that the combat with Achilles took place.¹ Possibly the figure of a warrior advancing with spear at rest, frequent on coins of Tegea, represents Telephos as he appeared in the composition of Skopas; but beyond this nothing definite has as yet been made out, either as to individual figures or as to the whole.

The high praise bestowed by Pausanias on this temple, as compared with others in the Peloponnesos, was justified in regard to its aspect, since it was constructed wholly of marble, but was not justified in the matter of dimensions, since in that respect it is behind two at least of the others, as recent excavations have shown.² But while it is impossible to visit the modern

¹ For a very thorough and careful memoir on the Telephos legend see Jahn, *Arch. Aufsätze*, p. 160. Ulrichs, *Skopas*, p. 25, goes fully into the various possibilities as to the heroes who may have figured in this composition, rejecting the vase published by Millingen (*Uned. Mon.* i. pl. 22, p. 50) as giving an idea of it, and the scene on the Ara Casali in the Vatican (Wieseler, *Ara Casali*, pl. 2, middle scene) as representing the central group. As regards this latter, it may be admitted, with Welcker (*Alte Denkmäler*, i. p. 201) and Ulrichs (*loc. cit.* p. 35), that a combat over a perfectly prostrate figure would hardly have suited the centre of a pediment. On the other hand the central group of three figures on the vase published by Millingen is very beautifully composed in a spirit of variety of action and beauty of form such as would be expected of Skopas. In favour of a central group such as that on the Ara Casali speak Gerhard (*Die Heilung*

des Telephos, p. 11, note 57) and Jahn (*Arch. Aufsätze*, p. 165, and p. 170). At p. 167, Jahn suggests as probable that the warrior on the coins of Tegea may represent Telephos as he appeared in the group of Skopas, though he admits that the same figure when it occurs on Locrian coins represents Ajax.

² Milchhöfer, in the *Mittheilungen des Inst. in Athen*, 1880, p. 52, gives an account of his excavations on the site of this temple in the modern village of Piali, on which occasion he found it to have been (p. 60) a Doric peripteros hexastylos with thirteen columns on the sides. These excavations solved the difficulty which had generally been felt as to the employment of the three different orders which Pausanias mentions in this temple. The result is summed up by Mr. Fergusson in the *Antiquities of Ionia*, pt. iv. p. 2 (published by the Dilettanti Society): "It was externally a Doric hexastyle temple with two or six Ionic columns in the pronaos

village of Piali without a sense of the urgent necessity of an extensive clearance of the soil which now lies in no great depth on the ruins of the temple, for the present we must, so far as sculpture is concerned, be content with the few fragments already to be seen there. They consist mainly of part of a boar's head, and two fragmentary heads of youthful heroes, one of which wears a helmet.¹ This latter seemed to me to be rather a female head with helmet, and to recall vividly the head of one of the charioteers on one of the friezes of the Mausoleum,² to which it will be necessary to refer again. Meantime these two mutilated heads are all that we possess with which to challenge a direct comparison between Skopas and Praxiteles, the head of his Hermes serving for this purpose. Between them there is enough in common to stamp them as master works of one period and one tendency—a tendency which took to such youthful forms as nature chooses in which to reveal a permanent mood or pathos of the soul. So far as the general conception of such a type is concerned, that may be said to have been attained in the heads of many of the ephebi on the Parthenon frieze. The task of the new tendency was to develop it throughout the whole

and posticum and probably ten or eleven columns of the Corinthian order in the interior of the cella. The Ionic order consequently stands here in exactly the same relation to the Doric as it did in the propylæa at Athens and Eleusis." The breadth was 70 feet, the length 155 feet.

¹ Engraved in the *Mittheilungen des Inst. in Athen*, 1881, pls. 14–15. Described previously by M. Cavadias in the *Bullet. dell' Inst. Arch.* 1880, p. 201.

² Published very beautifully in Newton's *Travels in the Levant*, ii. pl. 16. The head at Tegea has been split vertically down the profile or nearly so into two halves; the one half is in the small museum

at Piali; the other is built into the wall of a private house close by above the doorway. If it is a female head it must have been that of Atalanta, if it belongs to the front pediment. But she is known by the petasus she wears, and not by a helmet, so far as I am aware. If it belonged to the back pediment we must suppose that some goddess was present at the combat, as Athena is in the scene on the Ara Casali. On the other hand the Mausoleum charioteer with which I have compared this head, though resembling a female figure and though described as such by Newton (*Travels*, ii. p. 132), may, like the charioteers on the Parthenon frieze, be in reality a youth.

organic structure of the face and head. It was a task requiring the utmost refinement of observation and delicacy of execution, side by side with a preservation of all that was essential to strength and power. It is so in the *Hermes*, and no less in the heads at *Tegea*, with this difference, that in the latter there is more of intensity in the expression both of pathos and of strength. They present in fact a stronger and simpler contrast



Fig. 15.—Marble head (*Tegea*).

between these two elements. In the helmeted head the throat is strongly marked as in the charioteer of the *Mausoleum* frieze, and the head may have been similarly thrown up a little. In contrast with this is the softness of the cheek, and the almost pathetic formation of the socket of the eye, recalling that of the *Demeter* of *Knidos*. In the other head at *Tegea* there is again a pervading pathos combined with perhaps a greater refinement of execution than in the corresponding parts of the head of *Hermes*, as in the eye, cheek, sides of nostril and mouth. The lips are marked along the inner edge with an incised line as in bronze work. On the whole

the face is at once more powerful and more refined than that of the Hermes. It has been pointed out¹ that in the head of Hermes, the large cranium dominates the face in a peculiarly Attic manner, and that in the head at Tegea the large forms of the face overpower the rest of the head in a peculiarly Peloponnesian manner, and on this circumstance has been founded a confirmation of the otherwise not improbable opinion that Skopas had been more influenced in his youth by traditions from the Peloponnesian school than had been Praxiteles.

To pass from the temple at Tegea to the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, that is to leap over a period of about 40 years, and to expect in the work of a fairly aged sculptor the same characteristics of style which he displayed when a comparatively young man, may seem a more hazardous experiment than it really is, if we are right in believing that Skopas had been in full possession of his powers and style when so conspicuous an undertaking as the temple of Tegea was entrusted to him, and on the other hand that he must have been still in full command of these powers when his services were sought for the Mausoleum—a building on which it would appear nothing was spared to secure its excellence. If it is impossible among the remains of the Mausoleum to trace his hand as we know it at Tegea, there are two alternatives; either that none of these remains belong to the part of the work executed by him, or that, in case any of them do belong to it, his style and manner had changed in the lapse of so many years.

¹ Treu, in the *Mittheilungen des Inst. in Athen*, 1881, p. 406, besides the different character of the two heads here mentioned, notices also (p. 407) that while in the Hermes the cheeks are delicate and small, in the head by Skopas they are broad and sharply defined, concluding that the Tegean youth's head is a descendant of the

Peloponnesian type as seen in the Doryphoros of Polykleitos. But that there was also in the style of Praxiteles a share, possibly a small share, of the Peloponnesian manner, appears to be proved by the comparison made by Kekulé resulting in the diagram on p. 30 of his *Memoir über den Praxitel. Hermeskopf*.

The statement of Pliny is clear on two points; that Skopas was employed on the east front of the building, and that his work consisted of sculptures in relief,¹ as indeed was the case also with his three colleagues to whom the other three sides were apportioned. From what is said of the duration of the task it was evidently no question of one but of several series of reliefs on each side. The remains indicate three separate friezes and a set of metope-like reliefs.² How these various sculptures were distributed, and whether they represent all the elements in the design, are matters of doubt. But though these questions cannot be accurately determined, some insight into the spirit that had governed the arrangement of the friezes may be gained from a comparison of two monuments serving a similar purpose, in nearly the same neighbourhood, and of a somewhat earlier date, the Nereid monument from Xanthos in Lycia and the heröon of Gjölbaschi in the same province, the sculptures of which we have already described.³ At Xanthos the high podium of the monument was surrounded by two friezes at a short distance from each other. At Gjölbaschi there were two friezes, one resting immediately above the other. These examples pre-

¹ Stark, in the *Philologus*, xxi. (1865) p. 459, will not concede that *calare* is limited to reliefs, and though we do not think that Skopas worked only in relief on the Mausoleum, yet it seems highly probable that Pliny meant to convey this notion as expressing the general character of the work of Skopas and the others.

² To judge from the remains of what are here called metope-like reliefs, it would seem at present as if they had belonged to a sunk frieze of some length rather than to metopes, for which latter indeed there is no proof. The subject seems to be an Amazonomachia.

³ For a comparison of the Mausoleum with the Nereid monument

at Xanthos, and with the tomb at Mylasa, see the plate by Cockerell, accompanying Mr. Newton's article in the *Classical Museum*, vol. v. p. 170, or better the *Arch. Zeit.*, 1847, pl. 12. Fergusson, in the *Dilettanti's Antiquities of Ionia*, pt. iv. p. 18, compares again the Mausoleum and Nereid monument at Xanthos with newer materials than before, and calls the Nereid monument a copy, if not the original of the Mausoleum on a small scale. In the *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 306, Furtwaengler would place the Amazon and Centaur friezes one above the other, as are the two friezes on the Nereid monument.

pare us for a possible enrichment of the Mausoleum by frieze above frieze.

The three friezes of the Mausoleum now represented in the British Museum¹ are characterised by different mouldings, and may therefore be fairly assigned to different parts of the structure. Of the Amazon frieze more slabs than enough exist to extend along any one wall, and we may perhaps conclude that it had been prolonged round the whole building in a continuous line. In that case there must be among them the work of at least two sculptors, possibly of four, if the statement of Pliny is accepted, that one side of the building was apportioned to each of four artists. It has been sought to separate these slabs into four classes, and to identify them respectively with Skopas, Bryaxis, Leochares and Timotheos.² Not only, however, may it be doubted whether more than two or at most three varieties of style can be proved, but it would follow if each of the four sculptors was thus represented in the slabs in question, that there should be little or no difficulty

¹ For the friezes obtained from the Castle of Budrum, see Mr. Newton in the *Classical Museum*, v. (1848) p. 170; Urlichs in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1847, p. 169, and Gerhard in the same, p. 177. For the additional slabs and sculptures found by Mr. Newton see his *Hist. of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidæ*; also Urlichs, Skopas, p. 162.

² That is the scope of Brunn's memoir in the *Berichte der bayer. Akad. d. Wissen.*, 1882, p. 114. As the slabs are now arranged in the British Museum, he would assign i. (= Mon. dell' Inst., v. pl. 18, no. v.), xi. (= Newton, *Hist. Disc.* i. pl. 10, upper slab), and xii. (= the Amazon from Constantinople), to Skopas. To Bryaxis he would assign viii., ix., x. (the three continuous slabs found by Newton

and published, *Hist. Disc.*, i. pls. 9-10). To Leochares, iv. (= Mon. dell' Inst., v. pl. 20, Nos. ix.-x.), v. (= Mon. dell' Inst., v. pl. 19, No. iii.), xiii. (= Mon. dell' Inst. v. pl. 19, No. iv.), xiv. (= Mon. dell' Inst., v. pl. 21, No. xi.), xv. (= Mon. dell' Inst., v. pl. 20, No. vii.), xvi. (= Mon. dell' Inst., v. pl. 20, No. viii.). To Timotheos, ii. (= Mon. dell' Inst., v. pl. 21, No. xii.), iii. (= Mon. dell' Inst. v. pl. 21, No. xiii.), vi. (= Mon. dell' Inst. v. pl. 19, No. i.), vii. (= Mon. dell' Inst. v. pl. 19, No. ii.) He rejects altogether the slab formerly in Genoa, and now No. xvii. in the Museum series (p. 133). That it differs in style from the majority of the slabs is no less true than that it agrees perfectly both in style and in the foot moulding with the slabs xiii., xiv., xv., xvi.

in finding to which of them to assign the remains of the other friezes. This is far from the case. The slabs of the Amazon frieze may present varieties among themselves, but they differ as a whole in a very marked manner from the chariot frieze; even the marble of the chariot frieze is much finer. We cannot believe that it is the work of a sculptor whose hand is to be traced elsewhere in the reliefs of the Mausoleum. It is of a higher standard, and may be judged to have been assigned to a conspicuous position in the building. If then we are to associate this frieze with one of the four sculptors, it must be to the exclusion of him from participation in the rest of the friezes, so far as concerns the existing remains. One of the charioteers has been fairly preserved (Pl. XXVI.), and it is to the head of this figure that we have already referred as singularly resembling in treatment the helmeted head at Tegea by Skopas. For the rest of the figure there is no similar means of comparison. Yet it may be pointed out that, the simplicity in the attitude, the somewhat formal yet vigorous flow of folds in the robe, and the flatness of treatment in the horses, retain a stronger reminiscence of older art than can be found elsewhere among the Mausoleum sculptures, and that if this feature is to be traced to one more than another of the four sculptors it should be to Skopas, who far more than the rest shared the traditions of a past age. The fragments of this frieze were found both on the east and west sides. It had probably encircled the whole building.¹

The slabs of the Amazon frieze which first reached this country from the Castle of Budrum (Halikarnassos) were at the time subjected to a careful examination, with, on the whole, an unfavourable result.² They had

¹ The fragments of this frieze are described by Newton, *Hist. Disc.* ii. p. 245, with a statement of its characteristics and the colours preserved on it when found. Re-

mains of colour were and are still to be seen on the Amazon frieze also, though they are most noticeable on the chariot frieze.

² Newton, in the *Classical*

been greatly defaced, and what was really poor in some, obscured the appreciation of what was good in others. But when subsequently, along with many other sculptures, the fruit of excavations on the spot, four new slabs, in more or less perfect preservation, were added, a better opportunity presented itself of judging of them as a whole.¹ The new slabs were found on the east side of the ruins, and naturally they were associated with Skopas, who, according to Pliny, had sculptured that side of the Mausoleum.² In addition to this general estimate of their merits, a direct comparison has been made between them and the heads at Tegea, concluding in favour of the reliefs as being immediately from the hand of Skopas.³ To compare small things with great, the head of the kneeling Greek (Pl. XXV.) is of the same type as the youthful head at Tegea, while

Museum, v. p. 198, says of them: "the idea which these reliefs suggest is that of works executed rather in the decline of Greek sculpture than in its finest period; made rather for a subordinate architectural decoration than as *chefs d'œuvre* of great artists . . . the action has something of a theatrical character; the attitudes of the figures are strained, the forms are meagre and unnaturally slender." Similarly Ulrichs, Arch. Zeit. 1847, p. 176, notes a great diversity of treatment, some of the slabs having figures with long meagre bodies. In others he finds a want of skill in the grouping or carelessness of execution, concluding that most of them had been executed by pupils of great artists. Compare his Skopas, p. 212.

¹ For an account of these excavations by Mr. Newton, see his History of Discoveries at Halicarnassos, &c.

² Newton, *loc. cit.* ii. p. 100, concludes, "it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that these

four slabs of frieze are from the hand of the celebrated artist," (Skopas). See also p. 234, where he points out the pathetic rather than ethical character of the composition. The total length of the Amazon frieze is now about 86 feet, without allowance for parts broken off, or for lacunæ between the slabs.

³ Treu, Mittheilungen des Inst. in Athen, 1881, p. 412. Brunn, as will be seen from the note above, admits only one of the slabs for Skopas. It is in the others that Treu finds the characteristics of his style. He finds them not only in the head here quoted, but (p. 414) in the flat treatment of surfaces such as the abdomen with sharply defined outlines all over the thorax, the sinewy thighs and legs, which recall the preciseness of the Peloponnesian bronze sculpture in which Skopas is supposed to be trained. All this clearly points to his school, but not necessarily to himself.

unmistakably the spirit of the school of Skopas pervades the forms and composition of these slabs. Again the slabs I., XI., XII., have been assigned to Skopas, and no doubt XI. is very carefully executed. But where execution varies so much as in this frieze, it would be rash to be guided by it, except where there are arguments also based on style. The slab which appears to us to excel in point of style is VII., and necessarily also VI., (Pl. XXVI.) which joins it, but is now much defaced. The design represents two groups: an Amazon riding from the right against a Greek, and two Amazons defending themselves against a Greek.¹ In the forms of the Amazons it will be seen that the sculptor has studiously given them considerably greater apparent breadth than usual, not only finding attitudes which assisted his purpose, but where the attitudes were inadequate, as in the fallen Amazon, he has attained the impression of breadth and massiveness of body by making the upper part of her chiton fall over the girdle in a mass, which appears to widen her form effectively. Similarly in the Amazon on horseback, where the narrowness of her waist would offer an unpleasant contrast to the breadth of her shoulders presented in three-quarters view, he has drawn back her left arm to conceal the limits of the waist. No doubt these are points which any thoughtful sculptor would have observed. Not only, however, are they frequently disregarded in other parts of this frieze, but in this particular slab they coincide with a peculiar largeness of style throughout. The drapery, though executed on the same principle as elsewhere,² appears to be simpler and

¹ The attitude of these two Amazons represents a motive which occurs also in the Phigaleian frieze and in the Nike frieze. If it is a mistake in the Mausoleum slab that the right leg of the standing Amazon is lost behind the body of the other, that mistake is common also to the Nike and Phigaleian friezes.

² Brunn, *Berichte d. bayer. Akad.*

d. Wissen. 1882, p. 117, compares the drapery in his first series with the drapery of the Phigaleian frieze from its want of repose. But though there is a want of repose in both, yet the treatment of the Phigaleian drapery is quite different from that of the Mausoleum; the folds are carefully modelled in their heights and hollows, and however florid



VIII.



IX.

X.

RELIEFS OF MAUSOLEUM (BRITISH MUSEUM).

XI.

more expressive of the forms beneath. The chlamys floating behind the Amazon on horseback, adds to its simplicity a massiveness of fold and general form beyond anything to be seen in similarly floating drapery on the other slabs. A moment's comparison of the Greek in the centre of VII. with the Greek nearly in the same attitude in X., will show that the former is of a far larger mould, and of a less agitated bearing. Large also in form is the Greek on VI., who alone wears cuirass, chiton, shield and helmet, and thus resembles the one figure so armed in the Phigaleian frieze, slab 19. Nor could objection be raised to the forms and attitude of the horse and the composition in general, if a high authorship were claimed for this slab. We do not claim it for Skopas, but merely as entitled to precedence in certain respects over the rest of the frieze.

On the other hand, there are a number of slabs (XIII.—XVII.) that cannot reasonably be associated with Skopas. They differ from the rest in having a considerably deeper moulding along the foot, and on that account could not well have been placed on the same side of the building with them, unless at a different level. The figures are of inordinate tallness and meagreness of form. Nor can this deviation from the ordinary proportions be fairly traced to a subordinate workman, as the lumpy rendering of the anatomy, and the florid but tasteless treatment of drapery, might imply. The same elongation of the proportions—if not even more exaggerated—occurs in the Centaur frieze, of which one slab has been preserved with a number of other fragments. Here the moulding at the foot presents an entirely new feature, containing a flat band suggestive of having acted as a separating border between two friezes.

they may be, there is a constant sense of beauty in the lines they present. In the Mausoleum draperies the folds are considered mainly as so many ridges, the hollows being more or less roughly

grooved out. There is no varied play of light and shade from variously studied surfaces as there is at Phigaleia always, and often with great charm. We cannot therefore agree in the comparison of Brunn.

Had that been the case, it is conceivable that the Centaur frieze had stood immediately above the Amazon frieze on the analogy of Gjölbaschi. In such an arrangement the slab of the Centaur frieze suits very well in style, and in its increased length of proportions, to be placed immediately above xv.—xvi. of the Amazon frieze.¹ In both sets of slabs the style is too striking to have been allowed to pass without some established name as sponsor to it. Skopas may be excluded. But as regards the other three sculptors there is at present no possibility of deciding.

Taking these last xiii.—xvii. as representatives of the worst, vi. and vii. as probably the best, we have yet to notice more fully the four slabs subsequently found in the ruins, viii.—xi., in which, as has been said, some have recognized the style of Skopas. We have already admitted that the head of the kneeling Greek is of the type of Skopas, and that the composition is charged with the pathos which characterized his school. Some of the motives appear to be new, as, for example, the Amazon turned round completely on her horse, the Amazon half in back view and half in side view delivering a tremendous blow on an advancing Greek, and the kneeling Greek just mentioned. In each of these instances not only has the action reached a deadly climax, but there is infused into it a strong provocative of sympathy. The young Greek, while holding up his shield to meet the descending blow, is at the same moment seeking with his other hand on the ground for his sword. The Amazon on foot is careless of her person if she can but strike back her opponent. The Amazon turned on her horse has resorted to desperate ingenuity. Nor are these incidents left to tell their own tale in a crowded composition. On the contrary, they are carefully sur-

¹ I observe that Furtwaengler, in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 306, would place the Centaur and Amazon friezes above each other a short

distance on the podium of the building, as in the two friezes of the Nereid monument at Xanthos.



VL

VII.



CHARIOTEER.



XVII.

RELIEFS OF MAUSOLEUM.

rounded by an abundance of free space to set them off. That indeed is a characteristic of all this series of slabs. Without beauty in the forms, pathos in the incidents, and what may be called a melodious linking together of the figures, foot to foot, it could not have succeeded. Where then, it may be asked, is the objection to assigning them to Skopas? In the first place we cannot imagine these slabs with all their beauty and fineness of invention to be by the same sculptor as slabs VI.—VII. of the chariot frieze, and secondly, we believe the chariot frieze to be nearest of all to the style of Skopas, and next to it the just mentioned slabs VI.—VII. These differences of style are enough to confirm the statement of Pliny that four sculptors had been employed on the reliefs of the Mausoleum; but the nature and extent of the remains are insufficient to corroborate his further information that each of the sculptors took a particular side of the building.

That the labours of the four sculptors were confined to the reliefs as Pliny implies, is in itself improbable, and may be said definitely to be incorrect in presence of the ideal female head which was fortunately found among the ruins (Pl. XXVII.).¹ If the sculptures of Tegea are a standard for the style of Skopas, as they are so far admitted to be, they would stand towards the head in question as the sculptures of a temple pediment would stand to an isolated statue of a considerably larger scale, and executed with every refinement of the master in advanced years. The eye with its surroundings, the mouth, the cheek and brow, are all true to his type, and all charged with subtlety of modulation. Who the goddess may have been with her archaic-looking triple row of curls framing the forehead and temples, the ear strongly planned and delicately finished, the hair care-

¹ Engraved in Newton's Travels in the Levant, ii. pl. 7, p. 112. Ulrichs, Skopas, p. 194, employs rightly the highest terms of praise for this

head. But we see no reason for agreeing with him that it represents Hera.

fully withdrawn into a coif, we cannot tell. It is instructive to compare the large female head from Priene with the same set of curls, the same sort of coif, and apparently the same face (Pl. XXVII.).¹ But how wanting in the combination of refinement with largeness of style which characterizes the Mausoleum head! To Skopas again we should be inclined to ascribe, if it were not so much defaced, a youthful heroic head from the ruins of the Mausoleum. There is also a bearded male head of ideal beauty, which must be traced to one of the sculptors of the friezes.

The arrangement of the hair just noticed in the female head occurs again in the head of the colossal statue commonly called Artemisia, but better perhaps Demeter, or some other goddess who stood beside Mausolos in his chariot on the top of the pyramid. The companion statue of Mausolos himself is an obvious portrait, absolutely simple in its treatment, and without the smallest effort at effect. If these statues, as seems most probable, belonged to the chariot of the pyramid, they would naturally be the work of Pythios,² who, according to Pliny, made the chariot, and who is otherwise known as one of the architects of the Mausoleum. Sculptures at such a height demanded the special talents of an architect. Yet there is nothing in

¹ Engraved in profile in the Dilettanti's Antiquities of Ionia, pt. iv. pl. 20. At p. 34 it is said that this Priene head is from the same school if not the same artist as the Mausoleum. But I cannot agree in such high praise, fine though the sculpture is. To take merely such obvious points as the outlines of the eyebrows, the lips and the ears, it will be conceded that the Priene head is far behind the other, while in the conception as a whole, in the want of pose in the neck, in the contour of the back of the head, it is no less inferior.

² Pliny, N. H. xxxvi. 31, calls

him Pythis, but an examination of the various readings of this name given by Rayet and Thomas (Milet et le Golfe Latmique, ii. p. 7) results in a clear preference for the form Pythios. Vitruvius, Praef. vii. 12, says that the architects Satyrus and Phiteus (Pythios) wrote a book on their work on the Mausoleum. It is in this passage that Vitruvius mentions Praxiteles as having been associated on the sculptures with Skopas, Bryaxis and Leochares, each taking a separate side. But he adds that some also include Timotheus.



MARBLE HEAD FROM PRIENE.



MARBLE HEAD FROM MAUSOLEUM.

them that may not be seen and admired close at hand, to the honour of Pythios, whose accomplishments as a sculptor, though they do not betray originality of motive or fertility of treatment, yet show that he possessed, besides excellent skill, a true appreciation of largeness of form. He may have used as his model some previously made statue of Mausolos.¹ He could hardly, in fact, have otherwise obtained the portrait of a dead prince. Whether the other colossal sculptures, such as the very vigorous fragment of an equestrian Persian, were by him, it is impossible to say. But we may with great probability assign to him, or his colleague Satyros, the numerous figures of lions which were found. On the one hand the ungainliness of their forms would exclude them from the workshop of a true sculptor in the age of Skopas, while on the other the treatment of their heads is in the same spirit as the lions' heads on the cornice of the building. It seems incredible that these lions could have been otherwise placed on the Mausoleum than in immediate relation to the cornice.²

Mausolos died B.C. 351, and doubtless his monument was commenced soon after. Five years before then (B.C. 356) the temple of Artemis at Ephesos was burnt down. Active preparations for a new structure appear to have been made at once, and though there may not have been sufficient means to proceed with the building to its completion, we may suppose that within a few years it had been carried so far as to be available for ordinary purposes, and that some at least of the sculptured decorations had been executed.³ This, in itself

¹ The best publication of these two statues is that in Newton's *Travels in the Levant*, ii. pls. 8—9 Mausolos, pl. 10, Artemisia (?).

² Stark, *Vorträge und Aufsätze*, p. 214, thinks that some of the lions stood on the steps of the pyramid and others (p. 205) on the peribolos wall. See also Philo-

logus, xxi. (1865), p. 468.

³ Apparently the temple was still incomplete when Alexander the Great was at Ephesos with his army B.C. 334. See Rayet and Thomas, *Milet et le Golfe Latmique*, ii. p. 6, and Fergusson in the *Dilettanti's Antiquities of Ionia*, pt. iv. p. 13.

probable, is a necessary view of the case if we accept the statement of Pliny that one of the columns was sculptured by Skopas. That some of the columns were sculptured has been placed beyond doubt by excavations on the spot, the results of which may be seen in the British Museum.¹ But as yet there is wanting confirmation of a share of Skopas in the work. All that is certain at present is that some of the columns were sculptured with reliefs on at least the lowest drum of the shaft, and on the high square bases on which they stood,² and that the style of art displayed in them is much behind that of Skopas. This may readily be seen from the remains in the British Museum, of which the most important is a fragmentary drum of a column with a design generally understood to indicate Thanatos and Hermes with Alkestis conducting her either to or back from the Shades.³ A cylindrical surface such as this presented numerous difficulties which the sculptor has met with the skill of a fairly trained artist. But neither in his forms, his drapery, nor his composition does he display any higher talent. Besides the sculptured column there is assigned to Skopas, also at Ephesos, figures of Leto and Ortygia with the infants Apollo and Artemis, one on each arm. The subject of Leto with the two infants in her arms occurs on coins of Ephesos

¹ For an account of Mr. Wood's excavations, see his work on Ephesos.

² Fergusson, *loc. cit.* p. 13, note 1, very rightly maintains that the large blocks with reliefs which Mr. Wood had supposed to be part of the frieze had in reality formed square bases for the columns. As there cannot be five sculptured corners in the frieze of a Temple, Mr. Wood's theory is disposed of, and as some of these blocks have on the top the weather marks of columns that had stood on them, it may be taken as proved that they

were bases. Moreover I have found by experiment that the finest of the sculptured drums when placed above one of these bases gains very obviously in artistic effect. A corner block of one of these bases is engraved in Wood's work, on the plate facing p. 188.

³ Engraved in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, pls. 65-66. See also Wood's Ephesus, frontispiece; and on the interpretation of the subject, Roberts, *Thanatos*, p. 37, where an engraving also is given of this drum of column.

and several other towns of Asia Minor, as well as in certain sculptures in the round. But they cannot be said to yield anything definite as to the style of Skopas, though they may be copied from his work.¹

Somewhat older than the temple at Ephesos, and more nearly approaching the Mausoleum from an architectural point of view, was the temple of Athena Polias at Priene, of which there are in the British Museum some sculptured remains, including the female head already spoken of, part of a foot from a colossal acrolithic statue, and a considerable number of fragments of a frieze.² It is apparent that the subject of the frieze

¹ Schreiber, Apollon Pythoktonos, pl. 1, fig. 1, gives a statuette in the Museo Torlonia, fig. 2, a statuette in the Capitoline Museum, pl. 2, seven coins of Ephesos and other towns.

² Rayet and Thomas, *Milet et le Golfe Latmique*, ii. p. 6, conclude that this temple was designed not later than B.C. 340. Compare the *Dilettanti's Antiquities of Ionia*, pt. iv. p. 23, where Mr. Newton assumes the temple to have been complete, or nearly so, at the time of its dedication by Alexander the Great; Rayet and Thomas, pl. 15, figs. 11-14 and 16-18, give fragments of the frieze, including under fig. 11 a winged anguipede giant, and under fig. 13 Cybele riding on a lion. At p. 21 they speak of the subject of the reliefs as unrecognisable, but that was written previous to the discovery at Pergamos, on which compare Rayet, *Mon. de l'Art Antique*, pt. iv. p. 6. In the *Antiquities of Ionia* just cited in which the *Dilettanti* publish the results of their excavations—four pieces of the frieze are engraved, pl. 19. Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. ii. p. 102, fig. 116, gives 6 fragments including (a) charioteer in quadriga, called by him Helios; (b) female figure; (c) female figure;

(d) group of probably Dionysos assisted by a lion striking down a giant; (e) winged anguipede giant, with scales covering his thighs and defending himself from attack on the left; (f) Cybele riding on a lion.

To these we may add (1) a draped female figure moving to the right; in front of her a wing probably of a giant as Overbeck suggests; (2) an armed male figure with cuirass and chiton sunk on the ground to the right with both knees, a shield on his left arm; (3) lower part of draped figure seated to front; on the ground on the right lies a nude male figure in the attitude of the Kephissos; (4) male torso to the left with right knee of another figure behind him planted on his hip; (5) torso of male figure wounded in right ribs and supported round the back by the arm of another figure; (6) male torso to left with chlamys floating behind shoulders; (7) male torso to right with shield on left arm resting on ground; (8) torso of male figure sunk into the ground nearly to the hips; (9) back view of shoulders of male figure with shield; (10) two hands lifting a stone from the ground; (11) male torso to left with chlamys over left arm; (12) part of the legs of a

was in part, at least, a Gigantomachia, such as has been rendered familiar by the sculptures of Pergamos now in Berlin. So long, however, as it is uncertain whether these reliefs from Priene formed an outer frieze, and whether the sculptures of the temple were completed when Alexander the Great caused his dedication to be inscribed on the front, so long will it be possible for those who find a later date in the style of the reliefs to enjoy their opinion without uneasiness. In some of the figures, particularly one standing in a quadriga, the drapery recalls the chariot frieze of the Mausoleum, with the flat girdle worn not quite so high up perhaps, and the thin close-lying folds. Generally, however, the draperies are freer than in the Mausoleum, and sometimes studied with more regard to the forms beneath. In this respect there is one figure which would compare well with the Phigaleian frieze. Doubtless the drapery as a whole wants the spirit and wealth of line and light and shade of Phigaleia, yet the principle on which it is modelled is the same. In the male figures the anatomy is frequently marked with an obtrusiveness such as we find in comparatively late figures of Herakles, for example the bronze Herakles from Byblus in the British Museum. But here again it will be remembered that we have the same rough and forcible treatment of anatomy in the Phigaleian frieze, most of all in the Centaurs. There is no possible comparison of style between the Phigaleian and Priene friezes, yet the recurrence in both of such a motive as that of one figure supporting a

male figure lying on rock; (13) part of two draped figures, with red colour in the drapery of one of them; (14) lower part of female figure sunk on both knees to the right, wearing a short chiton with diploëdion; (15) a large wing in low flat relief; (16) an eagle; (17) Gaea, half sunk in the earth, turned

to the left with right arm raised and long tresses on each breast: her head has been raised. Furtwaengler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 307, contrasts the reliefs of Priene with those of the Mausoleum, assigning the former a considerably later date. In this I agree with him to an extent.

wounded companion with an arm round his back, the repetition in both of a male figure sunk on his knees on the ground, the treatment of drapery so as to reveal the female form, and the excessive display of muscular development, are features which might tend to explain the Priene frieze as a degenerate descendant of that of Phigaleia.

To continue the accredited connection of Skopas with Asia Minor we may follow him next to the Troad, where he executed a statue of Apollo Smintheus, for a temple in which from ancient times that god had been adored for his power of saving cultivated fields from the ravages of mice, or by their agency destroying the crops of those who deserved his anger. Mice were protected and held sacred in his temple. A mouse was represented under one foot of the statue,¹ probably issuing from or entering a hole, since the foot could not well have rested on so small a creature. On copper coins of Alexandria Troas the god is figured in an archaic type, draped, with quiver on shoulder and bow in hand, before his feet a mouse.² How much of this early type Skopas had retained in addition to the mouse, and doubtless the bow and quiver, it is impossible to say. A draped Apollo was likely enough for Skopas. That his statue of Dionysos at Knidos was draped might be assumed from the

¹ Strabo, xiii. p. 604, καὶ τὸ σύμβολον τὸ τὴν ἐτυμότητα τοῦ ὀνόματος σώζων, ὁ μῦς, ὑπὸ κείται τῷ ποδὶ τοῦ ξοάνου. Σκόπα δ' ἐστὶν ἔργα τοῦ Παρίου. Urlichs, Skopas, p. 108, collects what is known of the worship of this god. For the result of the Dilettanti excavations on the site of the Smintheum, see the Antiquities of Ionia, pt. iv. pls. 26--30. At p. 46 Mr. Pullan would place this temple at a date between Priene and Magnesia. But Fergusson, at p. 16, note 4, is doubtful whether there is evidence enough for a comparative date of this kind.

² There are two such copper coins

in the collection of the British Museum. The silver coins there bearing this image of Apollo do not represent him as holding a mouse in his hand. Urlichs, Skopas, p. 111, speaks of a coin of Hamaxitus, on which Apollo is figured as on these silver coins, but maintains that the presence of a mouse in the hand was a characteristic of the original archaic xoanon, Skopas having invented the placing of the mouse under the foot on the analogy of the Aphrodite of Pheidias at Elis with a tortoise under her foot.

figure of that god on late copper coins of that town, were it not that Bryaxis also made a statue there of Dionysos. It is hardly probable that both had been draped, or at any rate draped in the same manner, so that the figure on the coin could answer to them equally. That Skopas was one of the first to sculpture a youthful Dionysos is no doubt true, but that he represented him with the dress of the older Indian Bacchus cannot be proved so long as the evidence of the coins is uncertain, or until some new confirmation is found. With regard to his statue of Athena in Knidos nothing definite is known.

It is stated that Brutus Gallaicus erected a shrine beside the Circus Flaminius in Rome and placed within it a colossal seated figure of Ares, the work of Skopas. From this ancient record, and some further circumstances of no great weight, it is argued that Brutus Gallaicus had transported this statue from Pergamos. Next it was proposed to identify the original of Skopas with the marble statue of Ares attended by Eros in the Villa Ludovisi,¹ and when, with more or less general consent, this was abandoned by reason of the lateness of the style in the Ludovisi figure, recourse was had to a design of Ares seated and holding a Victory in his left hand, which appears as a relief on the Arch of Constantine in Rome.² There, however, the idea is so purely eclectic as to be unworthy of any true master of the age of Skopas. It is a mere mixture of Zeus and Ares. Near the Circus Flaminius also was a shrine erected by Domitius Ahenobarbus, in or on which were figures of Poseidon, Thetis and Achilles, Nereids riding on dolphins and other marine creatures, Tritons and such like denizens of the sea. These also were said to be the work of Skopas, and enjoyed great favour in Rome.

¹ Ulrichs, Skopas, p. 120. Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. ii. p. 12, points out that this statue is obviously derived from Hellenistic sculpture after the time of Lysippos. With this Treu agrees, *Mittheilun-*

gen d. Inst. in Athen, 1881, p. 420.

² This proposal of Stark's in the *Philologus*, xxi. (1865) p. 435, is approved by Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. ii. p. 13, who gives there an engraving of the relief.

Probably Domitius Ahenobarbus had transported them from Bithynia ; probably also the composition was so arranged that Poseidon formed the central figure, with Thetis on one hand and Achilles on the other, flanked on the one side by Nereids, on the other by Tritons.¹ Such a design would suit the form of a pediment, and it has been generally accepted in that sense. Beyond this there is nothing to be said. It has, however, been sought to form a notion of the style of these sculptures from the exaggerated merits of a marble frieze now in Munich, representing, apparently, the marriage of Poseidon and Amphitrite, with their oceanic companions, the argument being that the sculpture is worthy of Skopas, or at least of his school, and that therefore it was executed by him, or in his school, as a pendant in relief to the large composition in the round. That this frieze can be traced back to the palace of Santa Croce in Rome, not far from the Circus Flaminius, is no argument as to where it was found, and even if it had been found there the sculpture is obviously Roman.²

With ingenuity almost without parallel in these questions, the Vatican statue of Apollo Kitharædos, draped and playing on the lyre, has been claimed or rejected as a reproduction of the Apollo Palatinus by Skopas, which

¹ Ulrichs, Skopas, p. 149, believed the subject to be the translation of Achilles to the Islands of the Blest, and Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. ii. p. 14, thinks this the most probable interpretation. He accepts also the original composition as having been in the form of a pediment, though in Rome the figures may have been otherwise arranged.

² Ulrichs, Skopas, p. 129, claims this frieze for the workshop of Skopas directly. But Jahn (*Berichte d. sächs. Gesell.* 1854, p. 163, pls. 3-8) and Stark (*Philologus*, xxi. (1865) p. 444), with equally extravagant praise, only go so far as to

say that the reliefs give a better idea than anything else of the style of Skopas. Brunn, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*, 3rd ed. No. 115, indulges also in praise of the sculpture and sees nothing improbable in the notion of Ulrichs. Previously in the *Berichte d. bayer. Akad. der Wissen.* 1876, p. 342, he had made an elaborate effort to confirm this view. I believe he no longer entertains so high an opinion, though Treu, *Mittheilungen des Inst. in Athen*, 1881, p. 421, still thinks so, objects strongly to the association of the frieze with Skopas, and rightly recognises it as Roman.

Augustus appears to have carried off from Rhamnus to adorn a temple on the Palatine. Such at least would



Fig. 16.—Apollo Kitharædos.
Marble Statue (Vatican).

seem to follow from the fact that the epithet "Rhamnusius" was applied to the statue as well as "Palatinus."¹ The Vatican statue, however, was found with a series of Muses, for whose company its costume and occupation are singularly appropriate. Had it been copied from a statue by Skopas, considerable changes must have been effected, one would suppose, since the original was grouped in Rome with Leto and Artemis, and may, indeed, have been so grouped in Rhamnus also. As it happens, a figure of Apollo Kitharædos occurs on a coin of Augustus, and it would be reason-

able to regard it as representing the statue of Skopas; but the motive differs considerably from that of the

¹ Ulrichs, Skopas, p. 63, deserves the credit of explaining rightly the epithet "Rhamnusius," but when he argues for the Vatican statue as a direct copy of the work of Skopas, he is with good reason opposed by Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. ii. p. 17, in which Treu concurs from a comparison of the Tegean sculptures (*Mittheilungen des Inst. in Athen*, 1881, p. 420). The Vatican statue is engraved in Müller's *Denkmäler*, No. 141*a*, the coin of Augustus, *ibid.* No. 141*b*, and the coin of Nero, *ibid.* No. 141*c*. In

the British Museum are two paste cameos of the Augustan type of Apollo and a paste intaglio of the type common to the coin of Nero and the Vatican statue. A fourth paste (intaglio) represents Apollo standing leaning against a pillar on which is a Palladium. He plays on the lyre and is draped, but the upper part of his body is nude. Visconti publishes the Vatican Statue, *Mus. Pio-Clementino*, i. pl. 15, p. 155, and proposes to trace it to the original of Timarchides, who, according to Pliny, N. H. xxxvi.

Vatican statue. On the other hand, a more or less exact copy of the motive of the Vatican statue is found on a coin of Nero, and on this evidence we may fairly consider it to represent some subsequent variation on the type of Skopas.

The excessive display of drapery in the Vatican Apollo is not in itself perhaps objectionable from the point of view of Skopas. What we decline to accept as from him is the obvious recognition of an attraction in drapery superior to that of the forms beneath it such as we see constantly in the terracotta statuettes of Tanagra. The same phenomenon recurs in the existing copies of a Bacchante (Bacche Chimærophonos) the original of which is traced to Skopas.¹ That he had produced such a statue in marble is probable enough. It was a motive familiar to vase painters before his time, and may well have been seized on by other sculptors before and after him. But the copies, like the records, if they may be so called, of the Bacchante, are too deeply impregnated with the Græco-Roman spirit to be of any service as to style. By the time that this exuberant treatment of all that is superficial in these so-called copies, is abstracted, we are mostly in a worse position towards the original than when we have only a simple record to go by, given in a few words by a traveller who has seen the sculpture in question. Such is the case for example

34, was the sculptor of an Apollo Kitharædos in a temple in Rome, where were also statues of Latona, Diana, and the nine Muses.

The marble head of Apollo Musegetes from the Pourtalès collection now in the British Museum (Cab. Pourtalès, pl. 14), has sometimes been associated with the style of Skopas. But though it may have been founded on an original by him, the treatment of the hair, and the overdone softness of expression, are so peculiarly Roman of the time of Pasiteles and his school,

that it is difficult to see behind their influence in it.

¹ Ulrichs, Skopas, p. 62, rightly objects to these reliefs which, like the one in the British Museum (for the type see Müller, Denkmäler, No. 140), represent the Bacchante with her head thrown forward. From the description of Kallistratos (Stat. 2) her head was thrown back more like the figure called Agaue which occurs on gems. See also Stark, Philologus, xxi. (1865) p. 422.

with the sober statement that Skopas made a group of Asklepios and Hygieia for Tegea, and another group of the same deities for Gortys in Arcadia. In the latter, and probably also in the former, Asklepios was beardless and no doubt of youthful form. Both groups may be assigned to his early manhood when he was at work at Tegea, and when the favour of Polykleitos for soft cheeks exercised an influence over him. Not that he need be supposed to have ever thrown off this influence. With his sense of mildness and gentleness, he could even make his two Erinyes at Athens look so as to excite no fear. In Asklepios he would have ample scope for this quality.¹

Still more youthful were his Eros, Himeros, and Pothos at Megara, in a temple along with the Aphrodite, Peitho, and Paregoros of Praxiteles. It has been surmised that both these sculptors had worked there contemporaneously and with a common plan, Praxiteles taking the female, Skopas the male companions of the goddess. There is, however, neither evidence nor likelihood of these various figures having formed one composition. It is true that these offshoots of Aphrodite are frequently to be seen in her company on the painted vases² of the period in question. But their functions are not to minister to her. They express her

¹ Such beardless figures of Asklepios as occur on coins of Phlius convey no notion of the style of any sculptor. Nor again can anything in this direction be made out of the later marble statue from Cyrene in the British Museum, in which it has been proposed to recognise Aristæus. The attitude, dress and staff with snake, are characteristic of Asklepios in the first place, but when we find them given by Praxiteles, as appears to have been the case, to his statue of Trophonios, we may be prepared to admit them also for Aristæus at Cyrene.

² See the article of Jahn on vases of this class in the *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.* 1857, p. 129. Ulrichs, Skopas, p. 100, argues that at Samothrace the group was one of Aphrodite and Eros. The text of Pliny is no doubt uncertain as to the name Pothos, and is rendered more difficult by his qualifying phrase, *qui Samothrace sanctissimis cerimoniis coluntur*, which would naturally apply to the gods Axieros, Axiokersa, and Axiokersos. Possibly Pothos was a generalization from that Samothracian trinity of deities.

various influences on mankind, and it is difficult to conceive how they could be made to form a group with her. We should rather suppose them to have been isolated statues placed in more or less close proximity to her. In that case there would be no necessity for community of plan or contemporaneousness of execution. The Aphrodite and Pothos in Samothrace we must regard as a group, but whether the goddess was nude like the statue of her which Pliny praises so highly in Rome, or draped as is usual on the vases where she is accompanied by Pothos, is uncertain. Nor can we realise the treatment of form and expression in this class of figures, except so far as the subtle distinctions of character and functions implied by these various names of Pothos, Himeros, Peitho, Paregoros, enable us to recall the tendency of the age to define and illustrate the moods of the soul. It was a tendency which by no means excluded the possibility of marked differences in what may be called style proper. As yet, however, there are no sufficient means of ascertaining the exact differences in this respect between Skopas and Praxiteles. At present there are sculptures which are claimed equally for them or for their schools; but though this dubiety may be defended on the ground of its having existed in ancient times as well as now, we may feel assured that in reality there were very obvious distinctions of style between these two sculptors. They may have worked with a common purpose at Megara. Both may have been employed at Athens to supplement or modify the work of the older sculptor Kalamis, famous also in his day for the beauty of his female forms. But there remain still many possibilities of differences.

It may be an accident that no mention has been preserved of any portrait by Skopas, while Praxiteles seems to have been distinguished in this direction. Portraiture, indeed, was by no means foreign to the style of Praxiteles, with his habit of seizing on special

types of beauty, and founding his ideals on them. But Skopas is not known for this habit of mind. Deriving the foundation of his ideals from the school of Polykleitos, he seems to have verified them by a fresh observation of natural forms, not as they appear in the attractiveness of special types, but in more general aspects. In this pursuit he would avoid portraiture. Again, Praxiteles is only known to have executed one large composition, and it has been argued that the result could hardly have been in the highest sense successful. But the large compositions of Skopas, both at Tegea and on the Mausoleum, appear to be open to no such objection; and accordingly, in dealing with the Niobe group of sculptures, there is a natural tendency to allow him a preference, perhaps all the more so because it is while speaking of works of Skopas that Pliny introduces the ancient doubt whether the Niobides were by him or by Praxiteles.¹ On the other hand, the finding of the Hermes at Olympia, and the sculptures at Tegea, has afforded an opportunity of comparing with them the youthful male heads among the Niobides, and the result of this doubtless very limited comparison has so far been in favour of Praxiteles. That is to say, the heads of the young Niobides are more of the type of the Hermes than of the Tegean sculptures.²

¹ Stark, *Niobe*, p. 332. The principal authorities on this question from the time of Winckelmann downwards have either preferred Skopas or as in some cases have declined to decide either way. Among the latter may be mentioned Welcker (*Alte Denkmäler*, i. pp. 209-314, pl. 4), and Friederichs (*Praxiteles*, p. 95), both of whom devote a long examination to this group of sculptures. Compare also Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 245, and Stark, *Niobe*, p. 332, though the latter does not conceal a partiality for Skopas.

² Treu, *Mittheilungen des Inst. in Athen*, 1881, p. 419. Taking the head of the young Niobide kneeling and looking up with clenched fist (Stark, pl. 17, fig. 11), Treu finds that it differs from the Tegean head of a youth exactly as does the head of the Hermes, and he cannot allow this to be due to the Roman copyist. So also on comparing the head of Aphrodite found at Olympia, and assumed to be Praxitelean, with the head of a daughter of Niobe (Stark, pl. 15, fig. 8), he found a similar correspondence.

Apollo and Artemis slaying with bow and arrow the sons and daughters of Niobe, was a subject which Pheidias had treated on the throne of Zeus at Olympia. In Homer it is a tragic example of the punishment the gods may inflict, and in the work of Pheidias it may be supposed to have retained much of that character. In the lost drama of Sophocles, however, Niobe and her children would necessarily have played a larger part, the gods being, so to speak, more in the background. With this view of the myth, a new opportunity was presented for sculpture. The public mind was prepared for the individualizing of the various sons and daughters of Niobe, where formerly it had expected a slaughter *en masse*, relieved perhaps by some touches of nature. Sophocles would know well how to expand these touches of nature and to create individualities out of them, so that the sculptor who first followed him would have a clear and definite task. Niobe became the central figure, occupying the place which originally belonged to Apollo and Artemis. How far Pheidias had anticipated this change it is impossible to say. But as it is probable that his reliefs represented along one side of the throne Apollo slaying the sons of Niobe, and along the other Artemis slaying the daughters, the deity being in each case placed at one extremity of the scene, it will be allowed that he had gone a considerable way towards dispensing with the deities altogether as necessarily present. It may be noticed also, as perhaps to some extent due to his influence, that in the numerous copies of the Niobides still existing, whether as statues or reliefs, there is a conspicuous abundance of drapery such as is not usually associated with Skopas or Praxiteles. The least we can conclude, is that some of the motives were invented by Pheidias. Take, for example, the statue of a daughter of Niobe in the Museo Chiaramonti of the Vatican (Pl. XXVIII.), which, though it differs from the other copies, is generally agreed to retain more than they of the original style of

the group.¹ We could imagine the idea of this figure to have been derived from Pheidias, perhaps through such a medium as the Phigaleian frieze, where several figures of the same dress and movement occur. Similarly in that incident of the Niobe group where one of the sons throws up his mantle like a curtain to shield his sister, the striking effect of the drapery as it is seen on the relief in the British Museum (Pl. XXIX.) might be traced to an origin in a metope of the south side of the Parthenon (see Pl. III.). In the Phigaleian frieze are two groups of Amazons supporting wounded comrades, and one group of an Amazon supporting a Greek. The attitudes are not the same as in the Niobides; but there is enough in common between them to show where the sculptor of the Niobides had obtained the basis of ideals which he had worked out in his own manner. It is in fact difficult to imagine him other than an Athenian artist, imbibing the older motives with which he was surrounded and transfusing into them the new pathos of his own age. Since Pheidias had a priority in representing the Niobides in sculpture, it may be assumed that he had also a priority in creating some at least of the motives which afterwards became, so to speak, stereotyped. Nor would it be possible for a subsequent artist to retain these motives, and yet efface such indications of the manner of Pheidias as we have referred to.

In the various Niobe reliefs² now existing it is noticeable, where they are complete or nearly so, that Apollo and Artemis are present. But though in this respect agreeing

¹ Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 233. Engraved in Stark, *Niobe*, pl. 12, p. 265. See also Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. p. 228; both Welcker and Stark agree as to the high merits of this statue, which indeed has even been claimed as an original either of Skopas or Praxiteles.

² Heydemann, *Berichte d. sächs. Gesell.* 1877, p. 90. For an extremely interesting discussion of the Niobe reliefs as a class it will be sufficient to refer here to this memoir of Heydemann's with its five plates including, on pl. 1, the marble disk in the British Museum.



STATUE OF NIOBIDE (VATICAN).

with the design of Pheidias, the types of the figures and the general manner of treatment imply a much later origin. It has been proposed to trace them rather to a representation of the Niobides seen by Pausanias in the grotto above the theatre of Dionysos at Athens, the date of which may be assigned to about B.C. 300. Over and over again in the reliefs precisely the same motives recur as in the statues; and since it is only the presence of Apollo and Artemis that lends a special characteristic to the reliefs, these two deities must be supposed to have been added from a design older than the statuary group, unless we can imagine them present in it also in its original form. The mere fact of their not being found among the existing statues is no proof that the original composition had not included them.¹ Nor is it a conclusive argument against them that they could find no place in a pediment along with the existing statues; for this reason, that it is not yet certain whether these latter stood in a pediment or not. In any case Niobe, with her youngest daughter clinging to her, formed the central figure of the group, and the gods, if present at all, must have been relegated to secondary positions. In this change from the older conception of the myth may be recognised, as we have said, the spirit of the age of Skopas and Praxiteles. For such a change the peculiar space of a pediment offered the most inviting of opportunities, and it is therefore with good reason that a marked preference has been allowed to this form of composition, which the gradation of the statues alone would suggest.² There may or may not be any possible room for Artemis and Apollo; but at least the difficulty

¹ Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 244, leaves it as uncertain whether Apollo and Artemis had been present.

² It is all but certain that the original Niobides which Pliny saw in Rome in the temple of Apollo Sosianus had been brought by C. Sosius from Cilicia or Syria

during his governorship of Syria and Cilicia (Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. p. 231, thinks from Seleucia: Stark, *Niobe*, p. 134, thinks from a sanctuary of Sarpedon near a place called Seleukeia in Cilicia). But of course there are no means of proving that they there occupied the pediment of a temple. So

of finding places for them, together with the absence of such figures, affords a strong presumption against their having existed. From the attitudes of most of the statues it is clear that the calamity comes from above, from the sky above the temple, and it has justly been observed that since there has never been any question from the 16th century onwards in recognising the statues of the Niobides without the presence of the gods, there would have been still less difficulty in ancient times.

The Niobide statues in Florence were found near the Lateran in Rome in 1583. In time it became evident not only that they were incomplete as a group, but also that they included some figures which did not properly belong to the series. Many attempts have been made to fill in the gaps by means of statues in other museums, and by figures observed in the Niobe reliefs. So far it has been successfully shown, first, that the pædagogus and the youngest son were not originally separate, as in the Florence statues, but formed a close group, as in the somewhat rudely executed marble of

also, as to their position in Rome, Pliny's expression *in templo* would not exclude their standing inside the temple, if that were conceivable, and with a strain might even admit them to have stood outside the temple but with close relation to it. The Florence statues are sculptured with more or less neglect at the backs, and thus must have stood against a building of some kind. It has been proposed to arrange them in a semicircle in the open air. Against this view Welcker has said enough in his *Alte Denkmäler*, i. p. 259 fol. The question in fact is reduced to that of a pediment, or of the intercolumniations of a temple as proposed by Stark, *Niobe*, p. 330, on the analogy of the Nereid monument, with Niobe herself in the

centre of the front, and the various figures and groups round all four sides of the building. There is more parallelism in the attitudes of the Niobides, no doubt, than would be looked for in a pediment, and not more than is found among the Nereids. But the gradation of the figures is much greater; nor are there any groups among the Nereids in the intercolumniations. Friederichs, *Bau- steine*, p. 240, rejects this view of Stark's, equally with the notion of a pediment, for which he maintains the gradation of size in the figures is not appropriate. Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. ii. p. 55, follows Friederichs, and prefers to leave the manner in which the figures were composed into a whole as uncertain.

Soissons¹ in the Louvre, and secondly, that the group of a son protecting his sister must originally have had this form, though in Florence the sister is missing. Again, on the theory of a pedimental composition, the prostrate son would occupy one angle, and would presuppose a prostrate daughter in the opposite angle. Without any theory of composition we must assume the presence of the traditional seven sons and seven daughters,² as we find them on the marble disk (Pl. XXIX.), making in all, with Niobe herself and the pædagog, sixteen figures. It is only in the list of daughters that the Florence group is imperfect.

The scene is laid on rocky ground, and the occasion appears to have been that in which Niobe was in the act of assembling her sons and daughters round her to boast of their personal beauty, and to claim divine honours, when, suddenly, before they had all arrived at her side, down shot the fatal arrows of Apollo and Artemis. The movement of the figures towards Niobe in the centre is thus not in the first instance a movement for protection, but merely the process of assembling at her desire. During this process the arrows descend, and the natural movement towards the centre is accelerated. Niobe in a moment perceives the calamity, and in her distraction clasps closely her youngest daughter. Similarly, the pædagog,³ who is

¹ It would be interesting to know whether this group found at Soissons was part or not of a copy of the whole composition. Probably single figures or groups from it were frequently copied for decorative purposes. This would account for the several figures found in isolated places. It is important to observe that all the isolated figures go back clearly to one original, as Welcker points out, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. p. 222.

² See Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. p. 236, and Heydemann, *Berichte d. sächs. Gesell.* 1877, p. 86.

There seems to be no occasion for the caution expressed by Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 244, as to accepting the traditional number.

³ The pædagog is present on a krater in the British Museum (*Vase Cat. No. 1434*), where Lykurgos in his madness slays his sons and daughters; so also he is present on the large Blacas amphora in the British Museum, where Ajax seizes Kassandra at the altar of Pallas; in this scene is a female figure in the attitude of dismay peculiar to the Niobides.

not involved in the disaster, seizes hold of his charge, the youngest son. The two sons in the act of protecting their sisters must be taken to be not yet struck. The fast-falling arrows have not reached them. Yet the instantaneousness necessary for the composition as a whole would require that they also should already have received their wound, though it may have left them with strength enough to offer aid to their sisters.¹

With an incomplete series of statues, it will be impossible to determine the original grouping, so long at least as it remains uncertain whether the form of composition had been that of a pediment. Even accepting the pediment form as a fact, we still find serious difficulties, which only some new illustration of the subject will remove.² In regard to style it must be

¹ Stark, *Niobe*, p. 325, misses in this composition the conflict of opposing forces which he holds to be necessary for a pediment. But so long as a powerful concentration of movement towards the centre was effected it was perhaps of less consequence that the central figure should really be openly the centralizing cause. Yet Niobe was such a cause in so far as it was at her desire that her sons and daughters were assembling.

² As an instance of the difference of opinion on this subject we may observe that Welcker (*Alte Denkmäler*, i. pl. 4, pp. 209-314) in placing the Niobide F, now regularly grouped on the right hand side, last on the left hand next to the corner figure, praises highly the effect with which it combines with the other two Niobides in advance. What is highly objectionable parallelism to Stark (*Niobe*, p. 322) is a striking concentration of effect to Welcker. This figure F is engraved in Stark's *Niobe*, pl. 17, fig. 12, as to be seen on the right half of the composition. So also the Niobide sunk on both knees (N), and commonly known

as the Narcissus in Florence, is placed next to the angle figure on the right by Welcker, while usually since then it has been placed in the left half of the series near the end (Stark, *Niobe*, pl. 13, fig. 3, p. 254). As regards the very beautiful and striking figure in Munich commonly known as Ilioneus, the youngest son of Niobe, the want of any indication of drapery, and a marked difference in artistic style, have led to its being generally excluded from the Niobide series, though admitted always as a Greek work of much higher merit than the Niobides. See Stark, *Niobe*, p. 257; Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 239; Brunn, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*, 3rd edit, p. 171. For a good engraving see Müller's *Denkmäler*, pl. 34, fig. E. The Florence statues are engraved, pls. 33-34, *ibid.* The Florence statue resembling Psyche (D) and sometimes so called, was rejected by Welcker but restored by Stark, pl. 17, fig. 13, p. 300, and Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 237. So also Overbeck, in the second edition of his *Gr. Plastik*, engraves but in his third excludes her.

remembered that these statues are copies made in Rome, the originals of which have perhaps altogether disappeared. From such copies only a general truthfulness to the motives and the leading types of the figures could be expected, and that they possess this feature of truthfulness may be argued from the manner in which they correspond with other figures copied from the same subject. So well, indeed, do they correspond in this respect as to suggest that the subject had been sculptured in one composition of statues once and for ever by some one artist, utilizing, no doubt, to some extent, motives previously established by Pheidias in his reliefs at Olympia. Among the Florence Niobides there is, as would be necessary in one family, an obvious likeness in the types which of itself would raise no mean obstacle to a large composition. The nearest analogy we can find is that of the pediment sculptures by Praxiteles representing the labours of Herakles with the same figure of Herakles repeatedly occurring at one view. There, as we have seen, the centralization was effected only by attitudes and action. Here we have a slight additional force in the assembling of the Niobides round Niobe. So far then, if the type of head represented by the Niobides has the artistic character of Praxiteles, there would be another ground for assigning to him the Niobides, at least until Skopas can be found to have indulged in some such repetition of the same type other than in the reliefs of a frieze where repetition is more or less unavoidable.

Among existing Niobe reliefs, that of the marble disk in the British Museum (Pl. XXIX.) is evidently copied from a series of statues. In familiar and established attitudes the figures have been disposed on the circular surface so as to obtain some measure of decorative effect at the cost of coherency. Only in some general points does the original composition appear to be followed. Niobe herself obtains a central position, her youngest daughter falling to the right. At each side of this central group are

two daughters. The pædagogue with the youngest son and the prostrate Niobide may be supposed to be on the right. Again, the group on the left of the second row is as in the statues on the left of Niobe. On the other hand, the presence of Apollo and Artemis in the uppermost row would favour the theory of a scattered arrangement of the statues on uneven rocky ground, with the two destroying deities on a height above.¹ In regard to the use made of draperies in this relief in general, and in particular in the group on the left of the second row, and in the figure in the same row sunk on his knees corresponding to the so-called Narcissus in Florence, it may be remarked that this is a distinct indication of an older style of sculpture than appears in the Florence statues. But whether this arises from retaining more of the motives and style of the reliefs of Pheidias, or whether the Florence statues are in this respect imperfect copies of the originals, cannot be said positively. We should prefer the former view of the case if the original Niobides are to be assigned to Praxiteles, since his treatment of drapery in the Hermes in no way accords with that of the marble disk in question. The draperies of the disk are not only full of invention in the manner in which they are utilized, but they reveal a power over the contrast of drapery with nude form, which, though obviously belonging to the age after Pheidias, has not yet been proved to have been a characteristic of either Praxiteles or Skopas. The nude forms appear to recall the style of Praxiteles undoubtedly, and probably it will be right for the present to assume that in his last works he displayed this singularly beautiful contrast of drapery and nude form.

¹ Friederichs, Bausteine, p. 244.



MARBLE DISK. SLAUGHTER OF THE NIOBIDES (BRITISH MUSEUM).

CHAPTER XXVI.

SCHOOLS OF SKOPAS AND PRAXITELES.

Leochares—Ganymede—Demos of the Piræus—Jupiter Tonans—Portrait statues—List of works—Bryaxis—Statue of Serapis—List of works—Kephisodotos and Timarchos, sons and pupils of Praxiteles—List of their works—Sthennis, Silanion, Euphranor—Monument of Lysikrates in Athens—Frieze—Subject—Composition and style—Smaller works of same style.

IN the sculptured work of the Mausoleum, Leochares, Bryaxis, and Timotheos ranked as colleagues rather than as pupils of Skopas, and though it is usual to identify them with his school, there are reasons for ascribing a considerable degree of originality to Leochares at least. His bronze group of the eagle carrying up Ganymede was a bold invention, and as such was duly appreciated, if we may judge from subsequent repetitions of the motive.¹ It was moreover a well thought out invention in this respect, that though strikingly novel at first sight, it is yet artistically only a natural

¹ The best known is perhaps the Vatican group engraved in Visconti, *Mus. Pio-Clement.* iii. pl. 49, p. 242; Clarac, *Musée de Sculpt.*, pl. 407, No. 702. A perhaps finer example is that in the Museo Chiaramonti, in Clarac, *ibid.* pl. 410, No. 712. For repetitions of the same motive with more or less variation in detail in minor art see the gold earring in Caylus, *Recueil*, ii. pl. 47, fig. 3, two gold earrings in the British Museum, and a paste intaglio also in the

British Museum. The same design occurs on the cover of a bronze mirror case, *Gaz. Arch.* 1876, pl. 19. Compare Jahn, *Arch. Beiträge*, p. 22, and Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 388, who praises the inventive faculty of Leochares as shown in this group. In the British Museum is a bronze lamp from the centre of which rises a figure of Ganymede winged, with a swan's head and neck rising from his head like a cap.

step in advance on a winged figure rising in the air. The wings proper to such a figure become the wings of an eagle, whose head rises like a Phrygian cap above the head of Ganymede. The body of the eagle is concealed, his talons only being visible fastened on the sides of Ganymede, but fastened so reluctantly that the eagle, as Pliny says, seemed to feel the pain he must be giving. The difficulty lay chiefly in finding a true balance for a figure in the attitude of being thus lifted up in the air. So far, however, this was simplified by the want of resistance in Ganymede himself. It would thus have been a mere question of representing a winged figure rising into the air with an attitude the opposite of that familiar in statues of Victory descending, except for the fact that Ganymede must appear as more or less passive, without any strain upon his body. The eagle had hold of him just above the waist, and the middle of his body was therefore the centre of balance. But Praxiteles had already discovered in varying degrees in his Apollo Sauroktonos, his Satyr, and his Hermes, the powerful charm that resides in the human figure when balanced in the middle of the body with legs, arms, and shoulders left in free play. Leochares carried this principle a step further, and to have succeeded in it must be held to indicate high artistic qualifications. His statue personifying the Demos or people of the Piræus may have been individually a novelty, but the habit of producing personifications of towns had been freely indulged as early as the time of Kephisodotos, the father of Praxiteles, and in these figures Leochares would have a standard for his Demos, however much he may have chosen to depart from it.¹ Again, in

¹ On coins of Tarentum and Rhegium, assigned to between B.C. 479-431, occurs a seated male figure draped over the legs which numismatists identify as the Demos of these towns. See Gard-

ner's *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. i. Nos. 18-21, p. 101. On two of the Tarentine coins, Nos. 19 and 21, this figure holds out a distaff in one hand and rests the other hand on a staff.

his statue of Jupiter Tonans, so highly praised by Pliny, we have no means of determining the attitude precisely, either from records, or from constancy of motive in the existing representations of Jupiter with his thunderbolt.¹ His portrait of Isokrates must, it appears, have been executed previous to B.C. 354, while on the other hand his gold and ivory statues of Amyntas, Philip, and Alexander, at Olympia, may reasonably be regarded as commemorative of the victory of Chæronea, B.C. 338.²

The following is a list of his works :—

LEOCHARES.

No.	SUBJECT.	LOCALITY.	REFERENCES.
1 {	Eagle carrying up Ganymedes.		Nos. 1, 2, 6 = Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 79 : Leochares aquilam sentientem quid rapiat et cui ferat, parentemque unguibus etiam per vestem. . . . Jovemque illum Tonantem in Capitolio ante cuncta laudabilem, item Apollinem diadematum. No. 3 = Pausanias, i. 24, 4. No. 4 = <i>ibid.</i> i. 1, 3. No. 5 = Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, No. 1302. No. 7 = Pausanias, i. 3, 3. No. 8 = Vitruvius, ii. 8, 11, where the doubt is admitted whether it was the work of Leochares or Timotheos. No. 9 = Pausanias, v. 20, 5. No. 10, see Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, No. 1313. No. 11, see Overbeck, <i>ibid.</i> Nos. 1314, 1315. No. 12 = Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 79, and see Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, No. 1311. No. 13 = Plutarch, Vit. Alexandri Mag. 40. In this group Leochares was associated with Lysippos.
2	Jupiter Tonans.	Rome.	
3	Zeus Polieus.	Athens.	
4	Zeus and Demos.	Piræus.	
5	Apollo . . .	Syracuse?	
6 {	Apollo, with diadem.		
7	Apollo . . .	Athens.	
8	Ares . . .	Halikar-nassos.	
9 {	Amyntas, Philip, and Alexander.	Olympia.	
10	Isokrates . . .	Eleusis.	
11 {	Portrait statues	Akropolis of Athens.	
12	Mango(or Lango).		
13 {	Part of group of Alexander hunting lion.		

¹ A bronze statuette from the Payne Knight collection in the British Museum represents Jupiter nude standing in a Praxitelean attitude, with left foot thrown back, the thunderbolt in his right hand which sinks at his side, his left raised to rest on a sceptre. The forms also indicate the influence of Praxiteles. In other instances he is draped nearly like Asklepios, as in Clarac, Musée de Sculpt. pl. 399, Nos. 671

—672; pl. 400, Nos. 675–678. Or he has a chlamys or small mantle thrown round his left arm as in Clarac, *ibid.* pl. 402, No. 685; pl. 402, Nos. 687, 689, 690. Or again he is seated and draped round the lower limbs, as in a bronze statuette in the British Museum (Clarac, *ibid.* pl. 398, No. 668).

² Brunn, Gr. Künstler, i. p. 386, and p. 389. Pausanias, v. 20, 5,

Among the works ascribed to Bryaxis there is only one that suggests of itself originality, the statue of Serapis. Nor does it, if we may judge by existing representations, imply anything beyond a meagre power of inventiveness.¹ On the other hand, when it is considered how many varieties there are in the types of Greek deities which as yet cannot be definitely traced to any one master, we may perhaps allow that the origination of some at least of them was due to men like Leochares, Bryaxis, and Timotheos. In the steep path of sculpture the ordinary alternative is to climb higher or descend. To keep a steady footing at a height is full of difficulties at any time, but most of all in an age when there is behind the artist a past dense with the excellence of his predecessors. He must turn to something, and if it be, like Leochares, to produce statues of successful monarchs rivalling in gold and ivory the Zeus of Pheidias, near which they stood at Olympia, we must admit that the effort was laudable. For true portraiture opens a fresh and animating field of study. It may be

says that the statues of Amyntas, Philip, and Alexander were the work of Leochares, and of gold and ivory, as were also the statues of Olympias and Eurydike. The words do not exclude the suggestion of Brunn that these last two statues were also by Leochares. But more than that cannot well be said. From the excavations on the site of the Philippeion at Olympia it has been found that these statues were placed in the form of a third of a circle, an arrangement not uncommon at Olympia. The dimensions of the bases show that the statues had not been over life size and that they must have been standing figures (Treu, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 67). Hence it follows that Von Duhn's attempt to trace a marble statue of a female figure

in the Museo Torlonia as a copy of the statue of Olympias is a failure, because that marble statue is seated (engraved in *Mon. dell' Inst.* xi. pl. 11; *Annali*, 1879, p. 195).

¹ Helbig, *Camp. Wandmalerei*, p. 7, regards the Serapis of Bryaxis as the last ideal creation of Greek Sculpture. The various reports concerning the authorship of this statue sound absurd enough, but Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 384, rightly recognises in them a common substratum of fact. Over the glittering materials of the statue Bryaxis is said to have spread a dull tint, not only to harmonise them, but to lend also a general tone of colour appropriate to the god of the lower regions.

said that the return to resplendent materials in these portrait statues, and in the Serapis of Bryaxis, so different in spirit from the manner of Skopas or Praxiteles, with whom he and Leochares are associated, was a sign of degeneracy, and, indeed, there is little evidence on which to repel any such charge. We have only the names of statues, one or all of which may have been mere reproductions of established types. The following is a list of the works of Bryaxis and Timotheos, exclusive of their share on the Mausoleum:

BRYAXIS.

No.	SUBJECT.	LOCALITY.	REFERENCES.
1	{ Five deities, colossal.	{ Rhodes.	No. 1=Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 42: deorum quinque quos fecit Bryaxis. No. 2, see Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, No. 1317. No. 3 = Pliny, xxxvi. 22. No. 4 = Pausanias, i. 40, 5. It may be to the Asklepios here mentioned that Pliny refers, xxxiv. 73. No. 5, see Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, Nos. 1321-1324. No. 6, see Overbeck, <i>ibid.</i> No. 1325. No. 7, see Overbeck, <i>ibid.</i> No. 1326. No. 8 = Pliny, xxxiv. 73.
2	Zeus and Apollo.	Patara.	
3	Dionysos . . .	Knidos.	
4	{ Asklepios and Hygieia . . .	{ Megara.	
5	Apollo . . .	{ Daphne, nr. Antioch on the Orontes	
6	Serapis . . .	Egypt.	
7	Pasiphaë.		
8	Seleukos.		

TIMOTHEOS.

1	Artemis . . .	Rome.	No. 1 = Pliny, xxxvi. 32. No. 2: Pausanias, ii. 32, 3, says that the Troizeni-ans call this statue Hippolytos, from which it may be inferred that the statue was youthful. Timotheos was said by some to have sculptured the colossal Ares in Halikarnassos, ascribed by others to Leochares, and he is mentioned by Pliny (xxxiv. 91) among those who sculptured <i>athletas et armatos et venatores sacrificantesque</i> .
2	Asklepios . . .	Troizen.	

Of the sons and pupils of Praxiteles it would be unprofitable in the present state of knowledge to do more than append a mere list of their works, such as here follows:

KEPHISODOTOS AND TIMARCHOS, SONS OF PRAXITELES.

No.	SUBJECT.	LOCALITY.	REFERENCES.
1 {	The orator Lykur- gos and his sons	{ Athens.	No. 1, see Overbeck, <i>Ant. Schriftquellen</i> , No. 1333. No. 2, see Overbeck, <i>ibid.</i>
2	Theoxenidas . .	Athens.	No. 1334. No. 3 = Pausanias, i. 8, 5.
3	Enyo . . .	Athens.	No. 4 = Pausanias, ix. 12, 3; Schubart,
4	Kadmos? . .	Thebes.	however, adopts the reading, τὸν βαρὸν
5	Menander . .	Athens.	(instead of Κάδμων) οἱ παῖδες εἰργάσαντο οἱ Πραξιτέλους. No. 5, see Overbeck, <i>ibid.</i> Nos. 1337, 1338.
KEPHISODOTOS ALONE.			
1	Symplegma . .	Pergamos.	Nos. 1-5 = Pliny, xxxvi. 24 : Praxitelis
2	Latona . . .	Rome.	filii Cephisodotus et artis hæres fuit
3	Aphrodite . .	Rome.	cujus laudatum est Pergami symplegma
4	Asklepios . .	Rome.	signum nobile, digitis corpori verius
5	Artemis . . .	Rome.	quam marmori impressis. Romæ ejus
6 {	Myro of Byzan- tium.		opera sunt Latona in Palatii delubro,
7	Anyte of Tegea.		Venus in Pollionis Asinii monumentis et intra Octaviæ porticus in Junonis æde Æsculapius ac Diana. Nos. 6, 7, see Overbeck, <i>Ant. Schriftquellen</i> , No. 1341.
PAPYLOS.			
1	Zeus . . .	Rome.	No. 1 = Pliny, xxxvi. 33, Jupiter Hos- pitalis Papyli Praxitelis discipuli.

Among the others who enjoyed a reputation in those days, and still in some measure deserve attention, are Silanion and Euphranor, the latter excelling also as a painter. It was with portraiture that Silanion was chiefly occupied, portraiture of two kinds, the one realistic, more or less, as his statues of Apollodoros the sculptor and of victors at Olympia must have been; the other idealized in some degree. For Sappho and Korinna, he may have had contemporary portraits to work from; and in that case his idealization would be of an inferior sort. With only their works and records of their lives to be guided by, he would necessarily have been dependent on his imaginative powers. We may judge that he possessed these powers by his figures of the dying Iokaste, of Achilles, and Theseus. Euphranor, with his varied technical accomplishments, seems to have combined also a fertility of conception not perhaps very original in quality. For in none of the works ascribed to him is there any indication of artistic in-

ventiveness. He is praised for forcible characterization in his statue of Paris, and it may be accepted that this was a feature in all his work. But beyond this there is little to be said. The list of his works will show that excepting the portraits there is nothing that had not previously been treated in sculpture with success.

STHENNIS OF OLYNTHOS.

No.	SUBJECT.	LOCALITY.	REFERENCES.
1	{ Demeter, Zeus, } Athena.	Rome.	Nos. 1, 2 = Pliny, xxxiv. 90: Sthenis Cererem, Jovem, Minervam fecit qui sunt Romæ in Concordiæ Templo, idem flentes matronas et adorantes sacrificantesque. No. 3, removed to Rome by Lucullus, see Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, Nos. 1345, 1346. No. 4 = Pausanias, vi. 16, 7. No. 5, statue of boy boxer, Pausanias, vi. 17, 3.
2	{ Women weeping, } praying, and } sacrificing . . .	Rome.	
3	Autolykos . . .	Sinope.	
4	Pyttalos . . .	Olympia.	
5	Chœrilos . . .	Olympia.	

SILANION OF ATHENS.

1	Achilles.	Syracuse.	No. 1 = Pliny, xxxiv. 82. No. 2, see Overbeck, <i>ibid.</i> , No. 1352. No. 3, see Overbeck, <i>ibid.</i> , Nos. 1353, 1354. The bronze of this figure was said to have been mixed with silver to give a death-like expression on the face. No. 4 = Cicero in Verr. iv. 57, 125, carried off by Verres to Rome. Nos. 5, 6, see Overbeck, <i>ibid.</i> Nos. 1357, 1358. No. 7 = Pliny, xxxiv. 81. No. 8 = Pausanias, vi. 4, 3, portrait statue. No. 9 = Pausanias, vi. 14, 1, portrait statue of boy boxer. No. 10 = Pausanias, vi. 14, 5, portrait statue.
2	Theseus.		
3	The dying Iokaste		
4	Sappho . . .		
5	Korinna.		
6	Plato.		
7	{ Apollodoros, the		
	sculptor.		
8	Satyros . . .		
9	Telestas . . .		
10	Damaretas . . .		

EUPHRANOR OF THE ISTHMOS.

1	Paris.		Nos. 1-10=Pliny, xxxiv. 77, 78 : Eu-
2	Athena . . .	Rome.	phranoris Alexander Paris est in quo
3	Bonus Eventus.		laudatur quod omnia simul intelligantur,
4	Latona holding	} Rome.	judex dearum, amator Helenæ et tamen
5	Apollo & Artemis		Achillis interfector. Hujus est Minerva
6	Quadrigæ and		Romæ quæ dicitur Catuliana, infra Capiti-
7	bigæ.		tolium a Quinto Lutatio Catulo dicata,
8	Cliduchos.		et simulacrum Boni Eventus dextra
9	Virtus and Græcia		pateram, sinistra spicam ac papaver
10	Woman.		tenens; item Latona puerpera Apollinem
11	Alexander in		et Dianam infantes sustinens in æde
12	quadriga.		Concordiæ. Fecit et quadrigas bigasque
13	Philip in quadriga		et Cliduchon eximia forma, et Virtutem
14	Apollo Patrôos .	Athens.	et Græciam utrasque colosseas, mulierem
15	Hephæstos.		admirantem et adorantem; item Alexan-
16	Dionysos.		drum et Philippum in quadrigis. No. 11
17			=Pausanias, i. 3, 3. Nos. 12, 13, see
18			Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, Nos.1800,
19			1801.

On the whole it was, so far as Athens is concerned, a period of artistic depression that followed on the successes of Praxiteles and Skopas. Nothing was achieved that left any mark on the records of the time, and nothing of striking merit has survived. Yet a fairly high level appears to have been maintained, if we may judge by the existing sculpture of the beautiful stele of Dexileos (Pl. XXX.)¹ at one extreme of the period, B.C. 394, two marble statues of female mourners found near Athens, as representing the middle of the period, and the monument of Lysikrates at the other extreme, B.C. 334.² From the nature of the Lysikrates monument, with only a narrow frieze crowning a small circular building, it is not to be expected that an artist of high repute had been found to sculpture it, just as, on the other hand, it is fairly certain from the extremely refined architecture of the monument that the sculpture would only have been assigned to an artist of moderate standing among his fellows. The subject, appropriate for a choragic victory, is Dionysos and his satyrs punishing the Tyrrhene pirates. The frieze, though circular and continuous, had this advantage from the position of the monument in the street of Tripods, that it presented a natural centre to the spectator passing along the front. At this central point, and immediately above the inscription, was placed the principal figure—Dionysos—resting on a rock, attended by his panther or lion and enjoying apparently the fruit of the vine, the abundance of which

¹ This stele, still standing in the necropolis of the Kerameikos at Athens where it was found about 20 years ago, commemorates a young Athenian, Dexileos, who had fallen in battle at Corinth B.C. 394. It is engraved in the *Rev. Archéol.* 1863 (viii.) pl. 15, with description by Wescher, p. 351. The temptation to compare it with the frieze of the Mausoleum is irresistible.

² That is to say, the choragic

victory of Lysikrates occurred B.C. 335, and the probability is that the monument was at least put in hand by the following year, B.C. 334. The two very beautiful marble statues here referred to belong now to M. Sabouroff, and are published in the *Collection Sabouroff*, pls. 15—17. The attitudes of these two companion figures recall the Penelope of the Vatican.



MARBLE TOMBSTONE (ATHENS).



MARBLE TOMBSTONE OF DEXILEOS (ATHENS).

on the occasion is indicated by two large vases placed one at each side. The whole of the front segment of the frieze is symmetrically composed, though by no means rigidly so. It is a scene of quiet indulgence, in contrast to the vigorous punishing of the pirates which extends on either side. While some of the pirates are seen in process of transformation into dolphins apparently by the mere will of the god, others are being overpowered and beaten mercilessly, whether with fatal consequences or not does not appear. The scene is on a sea-shore, and the satyrs have no weapons at hand except such branches as they can break from trees, and use either as sticks to beat, or as torches to scorch the pirates with. It is a serious matter for the pirates; and though the satyrs seem to be doing their best to make it so, yet there is a vein of humour in the scene. Witness the satyr on the extreme left of the front group standing leaning on the stump of a tree and enjoying the sight. Or again in the two companion groups of a satyr kneeling upon a pirate prostrate on the ground (Fig. 17), the action bespeaks sport almost as much as earnestness. In other groups no doubt the pirates fare

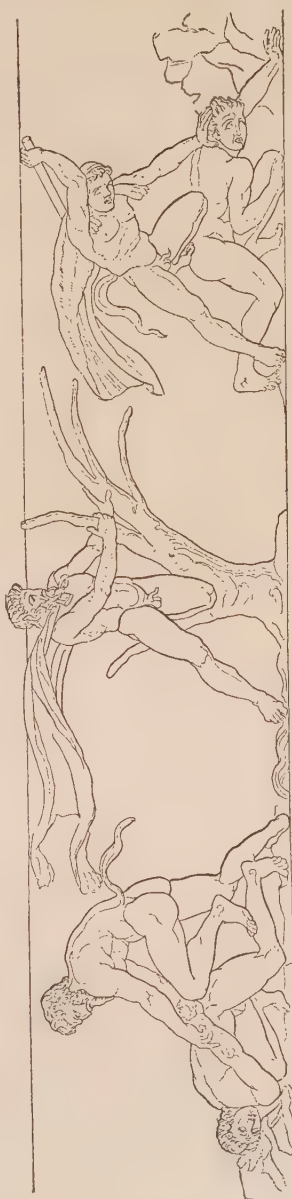


Fig. 17.—Part of Frieze of Lysikrates' Monument, Athens.

worse. But nothing deadly has yet overtaken them. Even the transformation into dolphins is not an absolute end to their existence. A burning torch may very well produce alarm when it comes too close: there is no sign of its being used with deadly effect. The pirates are young and slight of form, no match for the powerful bearded satyrs who fall upon them. The two satyrs seated beside Dionysos appear to be young and beardless like himself. They may be regarded as his closest companions.

From a technical point of view the frieze is interesting as an example, perhaps the best we possess from antiquity, of a carefully studied decorative effect, the more instructive because the intention of the artist reveals itself clearly, first of all in the persistency with which he presents every figure and object as far as possible in the plane of the relief nearest to the spectator. In the figures that would hardly be noticeable as differing from the ordinary principle of Greek bas-relief, but in accessories such as vases, trees, rocks, sea, it is so striking as to suggest almost a section along a scene, everything being brought, so to speak, into focus. Yet the frieze is a realization of a scene taking place in the open air, and as such it is vividly realized. The difficulty was to combine strongly-marked local features with a decorative treatment of the whole. In a small circular frieze the composition could only move within narrow limits, to be intelligible from any one point of view. From the natural frontage of the monument it was necessary to follow in a manner the method of a pediment by placing the principal group on the front, and allowing the rest of the action to vanish, though not to diminish, round the sides. At the back, nearly corresponding in position with the Dionysos of the front, is a pirate seated like him on high rocks, and otherwise producing a sort of echo of Dionysos, inasmuch as the serpent of the god, far away from its master, attacks the pirate. Between these two fixed

points the various groups on either side respond to each other, not, however, without a beautiful variety of detail, and some curious studies of real life. Compare, for example, the old and heavy satyr who, with no effort but his mere weight, is breaking down a branch of a tree, with the companion figure of a satyr on the other side, who, powerfully built, and trusting to his strength, plants his knee on the fork of a tree to wrench away a branch (Fig. 17). The front group consists of seven figures. On each side it is connected with the punishing of the pirates by the figure of a satyr running from the central group to the aid of his kindred. Immediately on each side is a pirate overpowered on the ground, and being beaten or bound¹; next, on each side, a group of a satyr drawing back to deal a blow at a pirate fallen or bound; then on each side a satyr breaking off a branch of a tree as already described; then a pirate half transformed into a dolphin. There remain, as in the front group, seven figures, which, though without direct responsion among themselves, still indicate the continued punishment of the pirates. A glance at the front group of seven figures will show with what variety of motive a strictly decorative balance of composition can be retained. In the treatment of form the artist has an evident pleasure in fleshiness,² and this comes upon him with special force in such figures as the seated satyr on the right of Dionysos, where not only

¹ As engraved in Stuart's *Antiquities of Athens*, i. ch. iv. pl. 30, the group of a satyr binding a pirate on the right of Dionysos is made to change places with a group of a satyr and a pirate fallen on his back. This arrangement of Stuart's is followed by Müller, *Denkmäler*, pl. 37, and Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. ii. p. 91, fig. 113; but the cast in the British Museum and the engraving in the *Museum Marbles*, ix. pl. 25, assign it to what appears to be its right place. I

regret never having verified this point in Athens, though I believe the cast to be rightly placed. In some places Stuart's drawing is more complete than the cast; it was easy in transferring drawings to wood-blocks to invert the order of figures. He gives the architecture of the monument in pls. 24-29.

² Michaelis in the *Annali dell' Inst.* 1862, p. 216, discussing a very interesting bas-relief in Athens engraved on his pl. M and repre-

the doubling of the body, but the ruling principle of presenting the greatest possible surface flush to the spectator, leads to an inordinate accumulation of soft fleshy form, such as recalls Pliny's description of the symplegma at Pergamos by Kephisodotos the son of Praxiteles; and, indeed, the two groups of a satyr holding down on the ground a pirate may well be held to answer both in composition and treatment to the general character of that symplegma. Here and there a panther's skin floating from the shoulders of a satyr breaks against the background. But for the most part the spaces between the figures would be considered too large and empty if it were not that by being so they maintain the general character of a scene transpiring on a barren shore.

To this age belongs the bronze figure of the satyr Mar-syas in the British Museum already described, and engraved¹ in connection with a group by Myron. The knowledge of form and structure which it displays is that of an artist trained amid all the advantages that existed in the period immediately after Praxiteles and Skopas, a period when it was almost as much as a fairly able sculptor could do to master these advantages without adding anything original. Of highly accomplished talent of this kind, the two bronze reliefs in the British Museum known as the bronzes of Siris² are an admir-

senting a number of athletes using the strigil, speaks of the style of the Lysikrates monument as having the characteristics of Lysippos. My own impression of the relief of Apoxyomenoi is that the style had been influenced by Praxiteles, though Brizio, *Annali dell' Inst.* 1876, p. 67, claims the influence of Lysippos. As regards the Lysikrates monument there seems to me a certain amount of the style of Lysippos united with a predominating amount of a style which has grown directly out of that of Praxiteles.

¹ Greek Sculpture before Pheidias, p. 221; and compare *Gazette Archéologique*, 1879, pls 34-35.

² These reliefs, beaten out in very thin bronze, are supposed to have formed the shoulder straps of a cuirass. They were found near the site of Grumentum in Lucania in 1820, and were published by Brönsted (*Die Bronzen von Siris*), from whom they were acquired for the British Museum. He assigns them, p. 93, to the school of Lysippos.

able illustration, so complete is the mastery of detail, so refined is the process of thought by which two compositions, necessarily balancing each other closely, are modulated with a variety of subordinate effects, which produce an agreeable diversity within a general sameness. So far they reflect the spirit of the Lysikrates monument, intensified for a work of minute dimensions. Of the same high character and style is a bronze relief found at Dodona, and described as a cheek-piece of a helmet.¹

¹ Published by De Witte in the *Monuments Grecs*, 1877, pl. 2, p. 9.

CHAPTER XXVII.

LYSIPPOS AND HIS SCHOOL.

Lysippos—His training—List of works—Statue of Kairos—Canon of proportions—Style—Portraiture—Alexander the Great—Attic influence—Statue of Alexander in Munich—Poseidon—Figures of Herakles—Lysistratos, brother of Lysippos—Eutychides—His statues of Antioch and of the Eurotas—Chares of Lindos—His statue of Helios in Rhodes.

It would be interesting to know what in general were the advantages of pupillage under a great master in antiquity—whether the workshop was a sort of school in which the peculiarities of older masters were shown and demonstrated to the pupils, or whether it was not more usual for the master merely to let the pupils see him working regularly, and to leave them free to choose for themselves, as did Lysippos according to an ancient record. The probability is that this method of instruction adopted by Lysippos was exceptional, and was in part justified by his own experience as a self-taught artist. The story runs that he was not only self-taught, but had begun life as an ordinary worker in bronze.¹ While so occupied in his youth we are led to imagine him rapidly acquiring the facilities of a sculptor in technical matters,

¹ Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 61. Klein, in the *Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 1883, p. 82, makes light of the story here given by Pliny from Duris of Samos; at p.

84 he accepts the importance of the fact that it is a painter, Eupompos, to whom Lysippos explains that he means to follow nature.

and when once in confident possession of these facilities he chose, as he is reported to have said, nature to be his instructor. That he did not, however, always follow her instructions pure and simple may be gathered from another observation attributed to him—that he had made the Doryphoros of Polykleitos his master.¹ Not that he sought to imitate it. On the contrary, the proportions of that statue were typical to him of what should not be. But then they were carried out on a strict system, and in this respect the Doryphoros was well qualified to teach even Lysippos that whatever innovations he might make in the proportions of the human figure must be made on a rigid system. Still more at variance, it would seem, with his original desire to follow nature is his remark that while his predecessors had sculptured men as they were, he sculptured them as they seemed.² The remark is unjust to earlier artists, unless it was meant to apply chiefly to Polykleitos and his school, who were in reality his true predecessors,³ and then it would apply in this sense, that while they imitated the human form mainly as a physical object presented to their view, he imitated it as the residence and embodiment of a spiritual being, no less than as a physical organization obedient in all things to that being. With this interpretation he may be said to have followed nature in a wide sense, as indeed had Praxiteles, Skopas, and others, but with this difference, that

¹ Cicero, Brutus, 86, 296.

² Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 65. The argument of Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. ii. p. 121, is that while Polykleitos had arrived at his canon of proportions by abstracting an average of male form, Lysippos had searched for exceptionally well developed types, and founded on them a canon of the proportions that ought to exist in all men. That is a reasonable interpretation of the words of Pliny, and it is

quite possible for a sculptor to take such a view of the case. But it is not a high principle to follow. It is merely an adroit catching at favourable circumstances, and as yet we do not feel prepared to charge this to Lysippos.

³ See the genealogical table showing the continuity of the schools of Polykleitos and Lysippos given by Klein, in the *Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 1883, p. 78.

they selected carefully such types of beings as most readily lent themselves to the expression of spiritual moods, while the effort of Lysippos was rather to import a lower and more general degree of the spiritual element into beings of an average muscular and physical form. In attaining this end he was unquestionably indebted to Praxiteles for having shown what was to be gained by placing the balance of a figure in the middle of the body, and thus allowing freedom and grace for the attitude and movement of the legs and arms.¹ With this and the strictly organized proportions of Polykleitos to start from, he proceeded to develop a new system of proportions, in which men of athletic mould should be made to express the mobility and freedom of action natural to them at all times, in contrast to the mobility and freedom which older sculptors had expressed only under the influence of special occasions. It will be seen from the following list that his statues were mainly of a masculine and athletic type. He appears to have worked exclusively in bronze.

¹ Brunn, in his very fine criticism of Lysippos, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 373, says that he followed the path which Praxiteles had opened up by relieving the feet of the weight of the body and utilizing the arm or shoulder for the support of the upper part of the body. Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. ii. p. 120, describes Lysippos as the most eclectic of all sculptors of his age: at the same time he confines his eclecticism mainly to the older masters of the Argive-Sikyonian school, with the addition of Myron and Pythagoras, from the former of

whom he studied the vivid rendering of physical life; Pythagoras he imitated in carefulness of rendering minute details. There is no doubt that Lysippos displayed these qualities, but it is unnecessary to call him an eclectic on that account, since it is quite probable that these qualities had already become familiar enough among the sculptors between the times of Myron or Pythagoras and Lysippos. If they in this natural manner influenced him in his studies, there would be no eclecticism in the matter.

No.	SUBJECT.	LOCALITY.	REFERENCES.
1	Zeus	Tarentum.	1. Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 40, speaking of this colossal statue, 40 cubits in height, says : Mirum in eo quod manu, ut ferunt, nobilis (ea ratio libramenti est) nullis convellatur procellis. Id quidem providisse et artifex dicitur modico intervallo unde maxime flatum opus erat frangi opposita columna.
2	Zeus	Sikyon.	2. Pausanias, ii. 9, 6. 3. <i>Ibid.</i> ii. 20, 3. 4. <i>Ibid.</i> i. 43, 6. There is no occasion for attributing the Muses mentioned in the sentence of Pausanias to Lysippos. Not only does Pausanias not say so, but the difference of material which he expressly mentions is against their being by him. 5. Lucian, Jupp. Trag. 9. 6. Pliny, xxxiv. 40, and see the other passages in Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, Nos. 1468-1472. 7. Pausanias, ii. 9, 7. The passages collected in Overbeck, <i>loc. cit.</i> , Nos. 1474-1476, referring to a Herakles without weapons and a Herakles Epitrapeios, are too vague to be held to refer to two actual statues by Lysippos other than those already known. 8. Strabo, x. p. 459.
3	Zeus	Argos.	9. Pausanias, ix. 30, 1. 10. Lucian, Jupp. Trag. 12. 11, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 29, 30, 31. Pliny, xxxiv. 62-64 : Plurima ex omnibus signa fecit, ut diximus, fœcundissimæ artis, inter quæ destringentem se quem Marcus Agrippa ante Themas suas dicavit mire gratum Tiberio principi qui non quivit temperare sibi in eo quamquam imperiosus sui inter initia principatus transtulitque in cubiculum, alio ibi signo substituto cum quidem tanta populi Romani contumacia fuit ut magnis theatri clamoribus reponi apoxymenon flagitaverit, princepsque quam adamatum reposuerit. Nobilitatur Lysippos et tumulenta tibia et canibus ac venatione, in primis vero quadriga cum Sole Rhodiorum. Fecit et Alexandrum Magnum multis operibus a pueritia ejus orsus. Quam statuum inaurari jussit Nero princeps delectatus admodum illa. Dein cum pretio perisset gratia artis detractum est aurum pretiosiorque talis existimatur etiam cicatricibus operis atque concisuris in quibus aurum hæserat remanentibus. Idem fecit Hephæstionem Alexandri Magni amicum quem quidam Polycleto adscribunt cum is centum prope annis ante fuerit ; idem Alexandri venationem quæ Delphis sacrata est, Athenis Satyrum ; turmam Alexandri in qua amicorum ejus imagines summa omnium similitudine expressit. Hanc Metellus Macedonia subacta transtulit Romam ; fecit et quadrigas multorum generum.
4	Zeus	Megara.	12. Pausanias, ix. 27, 3. 14. Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, Nos. 1463-1467.
5	Poseidon	Corinth.	16. Overbeck, <i>loc. cit.</i> , Nos. 1479-1484. 20. Diogenes Laert. ii. 43. 21. Overbeck, <i>loc. cit.</i> , No. 1495. 22. Overbeck, <i>loc. cit.</i> , No. 1494. 23. Pausanias, vi. 14.
6	Herakles	Tarentum.	5. 24. <i>Ibid.</i> vi. 5, 1. 25. <i>Ibid.</i> vi. 1, 2. 26. <i>Ibid.</i> vi. 4, 4. 27. <i>Ibid.</i> vi. 17, 2.
7	Herakles	Sikyon.	28. <i>Ibid.</i> vi. 2, 1. 31. Overbeck, Ant. Schriftquellen, Nos. 1503-1505.
8	Labours of Herakles	Alyzia in Akarnania.	
9	Apollo and Hermes	Mount Helikon.	
10	Dionysos.		
11	Helios in quadriga	Rhodes.	
12	Eros	Thespiae.	
13	Satyr	Athens.	
14	Kairos	Sikyon.	
15	Portraits of Alexander.		
16	Alexander holding spear.		
17	Alexander with his generals	Macedonia.	
18	Alexander hunting lion	Delphi.	
19	Hephæstion.		
20	Sokrates.		
21	Æsop.		
22	Praxilla.		
23	Pythes of Abdera	Olympia.	
24	Polydamas	Olympia.	
25	Troilos	Olympia.	
26	Cheilon	Olympia.	
27	Kallikrates	Olympia.	
28	Xenarches	Olympia.	
29	Apoxymenon.		
30	Flute player.		
31	Animals.		

This list can represent only a part of the artistic activity of Lysippos. The number of his works is indeed estimated at 1,500; but in that there may be exaggeration, since it hangs together with a statement that at his death he left for his heir a sum of 1,500 gold denarii, which had been set aside by him, each piece when a work was finished, or rather, as may be supposed, was paid for. It is a fable to illustrate the frugal habits of a self-taught man. As, however, he lived to a considerable age, and since from the uniform character of his work there is no reason why he may not have been unusually prolific, we may fairly allow him a much larger number of works than appears in the recorded list.

Among the few exceptions to the uniformly athletic type of his sculptures, the first to invite attention is his figure of Kairos, a personification of "opportunity," especially the critical opportunity which presented itself in the public games, if we may judge from the circumstance that at the entrance to the course at Olympia there was an altar to Kairos no less important than the companion altar to Hermes.¹ From descriptions and imitations of the statue, it is clear that the figure of Kairos was of soft youthful form, resembling most of all Dionysos as one ancient writer says.² According to the same authority he stood on a rolling globe or ball, had wings to his feet, locks of hair falling thickly on his brow, but entirely shorn over the back of his head. He was thus the swiftly passing "opportunity," and, as an artistic production, he had evidently been worked out on the older analogy of the god of sleep, also youthful of form and with wings on his temples. Nor, in this connection, is it to be forgotten that in Sikyon, the home of Lysippos, there existed a statue of the god of sleep.³ We know his form from

¹ Pausanias, v. 14, 7.

² Kallistratos, Stat. 6.

³ Pausanias, ii. 10, 2.

existing sculptures as already mentioned, and it is not too much to say, from a comparison of them with the representations¹ of Kairos, that Lysippos in this instance at least had displayed no great fertility of imagination. In the circumstances there was no need of any such display, and it is well to bear this in mind, since otherwise Lysippos may appear to have attempted something beyond his powers, and to have failed.² His Eros at Thespiæ, his Satyr at Athens, and his Helios at Rhodes, must be regarded as evidence of his command over soft youthful forms, and for the Kairos little more was required. The statues of Apollo and Hermes struggling for the lyre are mentioned only in an obscure text.³

It was, however, as the list of his works amply testifies, in powerful muscular forms that he excelled. In seeking a new system of proportions for them he arrived at this conclusion, that the legs must in all cases be made longer than had been usual before, and the heads smaller in youthful figures at least. He chose in fact, as the basis of his system, the type of the boxer, as we see him occasionally on vases as early as the end of the 5th century B.C., and more frequently afterwards. Especially noticeable is a prize amphora in the British Museum,⁴ with a design of two boxers and dated B.C. 336; so that there is no question of its representing the

¹ Curtius, in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1875, p. 1, pls. 1 and 2, figs. 1-4, gives a series of ancient representations of Kairos, comparing him (p. 4) with Hypnos, the god of sleep. In some of these representations he holds out a balance, but Curtius rightly rejects that as unsuitable to the statue by Lysippos (p. 7). Compare Welcker's notes to his *Imagines Philostrat.* p. 698, and Jahn in the *Berichte d. sächs. Ges. d. Wissen.* 1853, p. 49.

² This is the source of the adverse judgment pronounced by Brunn,

Gr. Künstler, i. p. 367.

³ See Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. ii. p. 118.

⁴ Published by De Witte in the *Mon. dell' Inst.* x. pl. 48e, fig. 2. For the ordinary type of athlete of the date of B.C. 367, see the prize amphora in the British Museum with group of wrestlers (*Mon. dell' Inst.* x. pl. 48e, fig. 1). For an example of the type of boxer with small head and huge body as early as the end of 5th century B.C. see the kylix in the British Museum, *Vase Cat.* No. 971.

type of boxer in the time of Lysippos. The head is small and accustomed to alertness; the body short but powerful, the legs long and massive. We cannot however suppose that in his statues of Zeus or Poseidon, there was any sensible diminution of the heads, and accordingly we accept as a fair representation of his style in deities of this order a bronze statuette apparently of Poseidon, now in the British Museum (Pl. X.). It was found at Paramythia in Epirus, and, whoever the sculptor may have been, is a most beautiful piece of Greek workmanship, large in style and faithful in every detail. In youthful athletic figures like the Apoxyomenos of the Vatican, and perhaps also in his statues of Herakles,¹ the small head would be appropriate. As yet, however, almost the only undoubted copy of a sculpture by him is the Apoxyomenos just mentioned, a marble statue copied from a bronze original, representing an athlete nude, and scraping himself with a strigil. With it the literary records of his style challenge an obvious comparison. The long limbs, the small head, the diminished squareness of body, are all readily recognisable. On the other hand it is to be remembered that this statue was a popular favourite in ancient Rome, and that the Roman writers to whom we owe all that is known of the style of Lysippos may have formulated some of their notions from it, to the exclusion of the colossal Zeus from Tarentum, and other works by him to be seen also in Rome. Otherwise the coincidence would be too remarkable; and indeed it is shown to be so from the failure which ensues when it is sought to demonstrate on the Apoxyomenos the application of certain other remarks that they have handed down in regard to his style. They speak of minute finish

¹ See the statue of a young Herakles in Lansdowne House, which Michaelis (*Anc. Marbles in Gt. Britain*, p. 451) thinks one of the finest specimens, if not absolutely

the best, of a Herakles according to the conception of Lysippos. It is engraved in the *Spec. Ant. Sculpt.* of the Dilettanti Society, i. pl. 40.



MARBLE STATUE OF AN APOXYOMENOS (VATICAN).

of detail, of improvement in the rendering of the hair, of animation in the expression. These are qualities which speak irresistibly in the bronze statuette lately mentioned. But they are not possessed in any unusual degree if at all by the Apoxyomenos (Pl. XXXI.). The hair of that statue does not differ from the hair of the Hermes by Praxiteles. Even the form of the head may be compared with that of the Hermes.¹ There is no special finish of details. We must assume that his success in these matters was known from other statues such as the Zeus. Without them it is impossible to tell what may have been meant by his "symmetry" and his truthfulness to nature, the more so when in this latter quality he is compared with Praxiteles, for whom, as we have seen, nature presented herself in a peculiar aspect. So far as animated expression is truthfulness to nature we may well allow that Lysippos took rank with Praxiteles, and that was probably enough for a Roman writer to found a comparison on. His portraits, his statues of victorious athletes at Olympia, and his groups of Alexander hunting the lion, or surrounded by his generals, would give ample scope for this talent, while, again, his evident fondness for powerfully built figures² would suggest a

¹ Kekulé, über den Kopf des Praxitel. Hermes, while denying that the head of the Apoxyomenos is derived from the Hermes (p. 27), admits that it belongs to a parallel tendency of art, his argument being (p. 30), that while the Apoxyomenos was directly descended from the school of Ageladas through Polykleitos, the Hermes was the result of a combination of that same school with the Attic influence through Myron and Pheidias. Treu agrees to this in the *Mittheilungen des Inst. in Athen*, vi. p. 407, though he confesses to have been previously struck with the resemblance between the heads of the Apoxyomenos and the Hermes.

The Apoxyomenos is finely published in photography by M. Rayet, *Mon. de l'Art Ant.* pt. 4, pl. 3.

² Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 372, notes that the art of Lysippos was distinguished from that of Polykleitos by the expression of extraordinary physical powers. In the comparison of Lysippos with Praxiteles as to truthfulness to nature, the words of Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10, 9, are: *ad veritatem Lysippum ac Praxitelem accessisse optime affirmant.* Brunn, *loc. cit.* i. p. 369, does not admit the comparison, as indeed he could not do, having previously understood the *veritas* of Praxiteles to refer to his treatment of skin and

truthfulness to nature, even if it did not strictly exist in his statues. The colossal form of Polydamas, an Olympian victor, who was looked on as a second Herakles, who had slain a lion without weapons of any



Fig. 18.—Bronze portrait head (Olympia).

kind, who could stop a quadriga at full speed, or tame a wild bull, must have appeared, when translated into bronze, the very climax of a reproduction from the life, even if the statue did not possess the animation of face and attitude for which Lysippos was famed.¹ We may safely assume that it and all of his works were charged with this form of animation, as distinguished from the

superficial appearance. We understand it differently, and have no difficulty in comparing the *veritas* of Lysippos with that of Praxiteles so far as concerns animated expression. Brunn rightly enough distinguishes between the animation of Myron and that of Lysippos, but it is unjust to the latter not to recognise that his animation was of quite another kind, and to con-

demn him as being not necessarily possessed of more than a quick observation.

¹ The bronze figure of Herakles from Byblus in the British Museum with its very pronounced physical forms is generally regarded as singularly true to nature, and sometimes as an example of the art of Lysippos. See Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, v. p. 80.



MARBLE HEAD OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT
(BRITISH MUSEUM).



MARBLE HEAD OF APHRODITE, FROM PERGAMOS
(BERLIN).

accumulation of vitality in every limb and muscle which men like Myron had before imparted to their statues.

For talent of this kind, portraiture offered admirable facilities, and it is, therefore, not strange to find Alexander the Great adopting, and so to speak, stamping Lysippos as the great master of his time in this direction. We can judge reasonably of his success from a marble head of the great Macedonian found at Alexandria, and now in the British Museum (Pl. XXXII.),¹ with its singularly fine blending of the ideal and the real, of limitless mental power combined with ordinary passions, and of features ideally beautiful, united in one person with features nearly deformed. No doubt it must be classed as a copy, since there is no evidence of Lysippos having ever worked in marble. Nor can it be absolutely pronounced a copy after him, since there were other sculptors of eminence, such as Euphranor and Leochares, who made statues of Alexander. Yet it may reasonably be presumed to be a reproduction from a work of Lysippos. It is thoroughly Greek, and of a date not long after Alexander. The vivid animation of the face is what would be expected; we welcome, however, above all the artistic style with which the whole work is carried out, showing as it does, that the sculptor was a man who retained some of the older and best traditions of his craft, adapting, but not abandoning them. We venture to cite here, as a still more striking illustration of this spirit, a small bronze in the British Museum (Pl. XXXIII.),² found at Tarentum, where the sculptures of Lysippos may be supposed to have exercised considerable influence. It represents a youthful heroic figure seated

¹ This head of Alexander was first published by me in the 9th ed. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s. v. *Archæology*, and afterwards by Stark in his *Festschrift*, 1879, along with another marble head of Alexander in the collection of Graf von

Erbach, the latter revealing, as Stark points out, more of the Attic influence, such as might be associated with Leochares for example.

² Published by me in the 9th ed. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s. v. *Archæology*.

and draped over the legs. The length of the limbs and expression of the face are beyond all mistake, while the shape of the head is no less evidently that of the school of Polykleitos, with a tendency towards the rounder cranium of the Attic sculptors which Lysippos could hardly have escaped. But it is in the largeness of style in the bodily forms and in the treatment of the drapery, that we are inclined to discover a characteristic of Lysippos. It is true that neither the *Apoxyomenos* nor the literary records positively claim this characteristic of style for him. On the other hand, he could not have studied Polykleitos with advantage, if he had not imbibed that quality from him; and, indeed, it may be taken as certain that he had imbibed it in no small measure, when it is found that his statue of *Hephæstion* was in ancient times taken for a work of Polykleitos.¹

Though possibly far from of fertile imagination, Lysippos, with his new proportions, and a new life pervading his forms and actions, would be able to impart a fresh and attractive interest to the conceptions of his predecessors; and thus his productions, without making any open claim to originality, fettered the attention; his scope was less limited than that of

¹ Loeschke, in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, p. 11, argues that the Polykleitos here meant was the younger sculptor of that name, who, he seeks to prove by means of two inscriptions found in Thebes (Foucart, *Rev. Arch.* 1875, (xxxix.) p. 110), was a colleague of Lysippos. But the evidence of the inscriptions is insufficient for this purpose. No doubt if this evidence were more positive it would be possible to explain away the words of Pliny that the statue of *Hephæstion* was thought by some to be the work of Polykleitos, *though he was a century earlier*, on the understanding that Pliny was acquainted with only the older Polykleitos, and

added the words here placed in italics as an idea of his own. So that the dubiety in the matter was nothing more than would naturally occur as to the several statues of two men who worked together. But against all this is the important circumstance that Lysippos had really made a serious study of the work of the elder Polykleitos, his *Doryphoros* in particular, with the natural inference that in the *Hephæstion* he had, either from the exigencies of portraiture or for some other reason, followed his master with success. Klein, in the *Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 1883, p. 82, adopts the same view as Loeschke.



After the original in the British Museum.

Bronze from Tarentum. — British Museum.

Praxiteles and Skopas; he was an agreeable reformer, not a creative genius. Home-bred in Sikyon, he was naturally influenced by the traditions of the school of Polykleitos. But, like Skopas, who also had at first been inspired by these same traditions, he had to some extent yielded to the impulse of his time proceeding from Athens. He could hardly otherwise have worked together with Leochares on the group of Alexander hunting the lion, which was dedicated at Delphi, even though, as appears to have been the case, he executed the lion and dogs, while Leochares sculptured the more important figure of Alexander. It may or may not have been that he was introduced to the Macedonian court through Leochares, who, as we have seen, had executed a very important commission for it in the gold and ivory statues of the Philippeion at Olympia. In any case it would be enough to prove that Lysippos had been materially influenced by the Attic school, when we find him working on one group with Leochares, even if we had not the comparison between the Apoxyomenos and the Hermes to lead to the same conclusion.

We have deferred to this point the consideration of the marble statue of Alexander the Great in Munich, for this reason, that a question has been raised whether the attitude of this figure—he is standing bent forward in the act of fitting a greave on his right leg, which is raised on a helmet—was not in fact, an attitude specially favoured by Lysippos, and employed by him for other statues, in particular for that of Poseidon.¹

¹ This question is very fully discussed by K. Lange in his *Motiv des aufgestützten Fusses*, Leipzig, 1879, with a plate giving rough sketches of the Alexander in Munich, a youth tying his sandal, a youth resting with one foot raised on a rock, a figure of Poseidon in the same attitude, and the well-known statue of Melpomene, also with one foot raised high

on a rock. The Alexander in Munich is engraved in Müller's *Denkmäler*, pl. 40, fig. 169. For the statue from Gabii now in the Louvre, see *ibid.* No. 168, and for the bust bearing the name of Alexander, also in the Louvre, *ibid.* pl. 39, fig. 158. Cf. Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. ii. pp. 112 and 114.

The same motive occurs twice on the west frieze of the Parthenon, and so far it is clear that under any circumstances Lysippos could not have invented it. But that he was capable of adapting to new purposes an idea which an artist of finer imagination had struck out before his time, is precisely what we have been endeavouring to show was one of his characteristics. To transform the calm ideal youth fastening his sandal on the Parthenon frieze into an animated statue in the round was a task of some difficulty, and at the same time not altogether encouraging, since the motive must have already been fairly familiar to his critics. The only prospect of success lay in his being able to infuse new animation into it. Naturally the severest test of his powers in this direction would have been a simple statue of a youth fastening his sandal, or otherwise occupied with one foot raised on a rock in front of him; and of this type there are various statues still existing, which, though evidently Roman copies of some Greek original, have been held to exhibit the characteristics of Lysippos. So much might be granted if it were actually proved that Lysippos had in reality assimilated this motive. But the proof at present may be said to depend on a string of probabilities. First, it is reasonable to suppose that the copyist who made the statue of Alexander in Munich¹ chose for his model a work of Lysippos, who above all others had been approved in antiquity as the best sculptor of portraits of that monarch. Secondly, it is found from a large number of representations of Poseidon having in common this resting attitude of one foot raised, that there must have been a celebrated original from which they were all derived, and that this original was a statue of Poseidon Isthmios of Corinth,

¹ Brunn, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*, 3rd ed., No. 153, admits that it is not improbably a copy from a work of Lysippos, while pointing to the broad chest and fleshy body as inconsistent with the canon of proportions ascribed to him.

the chief centre of the worship of that god in Greece.¹ It is then maintained that, there being no evidence of this type of Poseidon having existed before the time of Lysippos, and it being known that Lysippos produced a statue of him for Corinth, we are entitled to assume that the statue so produced represented Poseidon in the attitude in question, and was the original of the many ancient designs which we now possess. It will be seen that this is not a conclusive process of argument. On the other hand, there are many circumstances which constitute a strong prejudice in its favour. For example, a statue was found, and afterwards destroyed, at Siena, bearing the name of the sculptor Lysippos on its base.² It was a figure of Poseidon in the attitude of which we are speaking, holding a dolphin above his raised thigh, just as in the marble torso of him from Ephesos in the British Museum and in other representations. We know that such inscriptions are not always trustworthy. But when they coincide, as in this case, with a chain of presumptive evidence, they may be admitted as a fresh link.

Considering the changeful element over which Poseidon had control, and the constant outlook he was supposed to keep on it, we venture to think that the idea intended to be conveyed by this attitude was that of waiting and watching. It is this meaning that we see also in an archaic relief³ where Orestes stands in the same attitude waiting for his sister Elektra to speak. She sits before him at the tomb of their father, sunk in

¹ The Vienna cameo with a symbolical representation of the Isthmian games, presents as the central figure Poseidon standing with one foot raised on a rock (Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, pl. 6, fig. 75). No doubt it is the left foot that is there raised, but the fact of the whole action of the figure being reversed on a gem

would be no obstacle. For the argument with reference to the adoption of this and another type of Poseidon by Demetrios, see Lange, *loc. cit.* p. 41.

² See Lange, *loc. cit.* p. 46.

³ It is of terra-cotta and is engraved in Overbeck's *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. i. p. 164.

grief, her elbow resting on her thigh, and her head on her hand. The motive of both these figures must have been familiar in art before the time of Lysippos. Yet it is curious that we should have in this small relief two attitudes which appear to have been adopted by him. For not only does the Orestes answer to his Poseidon, but Elektra sits in the attitude of his colossal Herakles at Tarentum. That was a statue of Herakles resting and wearied of his labours.¹ Neither of it nor of the colossal Zeus at Tarentum is there any evidence in point of style. Roman poets, however, have sung the praises of a statuette of Herakles, which they say had belonged to Alexander the Great and was the work of Lysippos. In the British Museum is a statuette in stone which answers to the description. It was found in Babylonia, and bears the name of Diogenes, a sculptor of Roman times, and doubtless a mere copyist.² If, then, the poets in question were to be relied on, we might assume that Diogenes had reproduced in stone the bronze statuette of Herakles Epitrapezios by Lysippos. Unfortunately their evidence in this instance is too fantastic. On the other hand, the work of Diogenes may be held to indicate the notion prevalent at one time among the Romans as to what the type of Herakles by Lysippos was like. They had the colossal statue from Tarentum to judge by, and they had also a series of statues representing the labours of Herakles, which had been carried off to Rome from Alyzia in Akarnania. In regard to these latter, it happens that there has been found sculptured in relief on a gateway of Alyzia a figure of Herakles standing in precisely the same attitude of repose as in the Farnese Herakles in Naples

¹ This statue was removed to Rome by Fabius Maximus, and afterwards was taken to Constantinople, where it was described by Nicetes Choniates. See Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, Nos. 1471-1472.

² I have published this statuette in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1882, pl. 25. For the Roman poets in question, see Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, Nos. 1475-1476.

Museum.¹ The architecture of the gate is said to belong to about the end of the 4th century B.C., and this must be the date also of the sculpture. That it was copied from one of the statues by Lysippos can hardly admit of a doubt.

We have mentioned the Farnese Herakles, the work of a sculptor, Glykon, who, according to the evidence of the inscription on the statue itself, lived as late as the 1st century B.C. It has been usual to explain the attitude of Herakles in this instance as that of resting on his club, with the apples of the Hesperides in his hand behind his back. But it appears now, from a comparison with a Herculaneum fresco, that the attitude may rather be that of Herakles resting and looking down at the infant Telephos suckled by a deer. The same subject occurs on a relief from Pergamos, and on another relief in the British Museum. It was evidently a subject suited for a picture or a relief more than for sculpture in the round, and if Glykon adopted from it the figure of Herakles alone, it is probable that he had at the same time before him a statue of a similar attitude such as the relief at Alyzia justifies us in ascribing to Lysippos.² We may allow the exaggeration of muscular form

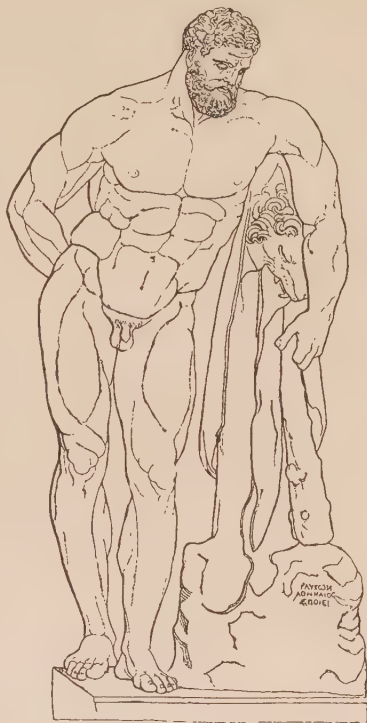


Fig. 19.—Farnese Herakles. Marble statue (Naples Museum).

¹ Engraved in Heuzey, *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarmanie*, pl. 11, p. 413.

² See Friederichs, *Bausteine*,

No. 675, who agrees with others that the exaggeration of muscular form is of Roman origin, while the motive of the statue may fairly be

to have been the invention of Glykon himself or of some older sculptor of the Herakles and Telephos legend.

Assuming it to have been during the best period of his life that Lysippos was occupied as portrait sculptor of Alexander, we obtain a date confirmatory of that given by Pliny,¹ B.C. 328, Alexander having died B.C. 323. On the other hand, as there is no reason to suppose that his statue of the athlete Troilos, which had been earned by a victory at Olympia in B.C. 372, was long delayed, we are driven to believe that Lysippos was well advanced in years when employed by Alexander.

A life of so much activity and success naturally attracted pupils to his workshop in Sikyon. Nor is it surprising, in the circumstances of the time, that some of them developed to an unreasonable extent the qualities of realism which the master had confined within bounds. This was the case notably with his brother Lysistratos,² of whom it is said that he was the first to make a plaster mould from the face, and from this mould to

traced back to Lysippos. It is engraved in Müller's *Denkmäler*, pl. 38, fig. 152. The head of the statue is published in photography in the *Mon. dell' Inst.* viii. pl. 54-55, side by side with the Steinhäuser head of Herakles. The argument founded on this comparison by Helbig, *Annali dell' Inst.* 1868, p. 340, is that the Farnese statue represents the last stage of purely Greek sculpture, under the influence of realism, while the Steinhäuser head goes considerably farther back towards the time of Lysippos. The relief of Alyzia, he says, p. 345, is wanting in the exaggerations of the Farnese statue. We can see how the manner of Lysippos became exaggerated in the marble sarcophagus from Genzano in the British Museum, representing the labours of He-

rakles (engraved in the *Annali dell' Inst.* 1868, pll. F-G). Weizsäcker, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1882, p. 255, argues that the Herakles of Glykon belongs to a group of Herakles and Telephos which he supposes to have been made in Pergamos in the 3rd century B.C.

¹ N. H. xxxiv. 51. Pausanias, vi. 1, 2, gives B.C. 372 as the date of the victory of the athlete Troilos whose statue Lysippos made at Olympia.

² Pliny, N. H., xxxv. 153, *hominis autem gypso e facie ipsa primus omnium expressit ceraque in eam formam gypsi infusa emendare instituit Lysistratus Sicyonius, frater Lysippi*. On the hostility of this method to the true principles of art, see Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 404.

make a cast in wax on the soft material of which he then worked-in the finer details which the plaster had not reproduced. But as the process could be applied only to the faces of dead persons, there is strong reason to doubt the priority of Lysistratos in the use of it, seeing that the habit of making masks for the dead was of a much older date in Greece, and that most probably the aid of wax casts was called in there as it was in Rome, for the production of imagines of deceased persons, though not perhaps in so systematic a manner.¹ Of the three sons of Lysippos² who adopted the profession of their father, Euthykrates is mentioned as having so far displayed an independent talent that he imitated what is called the *constantia* rather than the *elegantia* of his father; these expressions being further explained by the remark that he preferred to attract the spectator by a severe, rather than a pleasant aspect in his statues.³ He appears to have succeeded, notwithstanding that his recorded works range over a considerable variety of subjects—a variety in fact corresponding to that of his father. We hear of a Herakles at Delphi, an Alexander probably hunting, an equestrian battle, figures of animals.⁴ His son Tisikrates⁵ reverted more to the manner of Lysippos.

¹ On this point, a very interesting discussion will be found in Benndorf's *Ant. Gesichtshelme und Sepulchralmasken*, p. 73. Compare also p. 70 and pl. 14, fig. 6, for the two wax masks found in a tomb at Cumae, and now in Naples Museum, as to which it is now agreed that they are the masks of people who had been beheaded, and whose bodies had been given back without the heads to the relatives to be exhibited and buried in the ordinary way. See also Longpérier, *Œuvres*, ii. p. 310.

² Daippos is known to have executed two statues of athletes at Olympia (Pausanias, vi. 12, 3; vi.

16, 4) and a statue called a perixyomenos (Pliny, xxxiv. 87) which, if this is the correct reading, may have been a variant of the Apoxyomenos of his father. Boedas, the second son, is known only for a figure of some one in the act of praying (Pliny, xxxiv. 73), which some have identified with the figure of the boy praying in Berlin, wrongly, no doubt. See Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 408.

³ Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 66.

⁴ Pliny, *loc. cit.* The passage is, however, largely corrupt.

⁵ Pliny, *loc. cit.*, 67, says of him, *Lysippi sectæ proprior*, and mentions as his works, an old Theban,

It happens, however, that Eutychides of Sikyon is the best known to us of the pupils of Lysippos; and this is due to the preservation of a marble statue, now in the Vatican, of a female figure representing the town



Fig. 20.—Antioch. Marble statue (Vatican).

of Antioch, or more correctly the Tyche of Antioch, seated on rocks, with the river Orontes under her feet. We know from Pausanias¹ that Eutychides executed a statue of this description for Antioch which enjoyed great celebrity, and when we find on coins of that town a figure corresponding in design to that of the Vatican statue, there need be no hesitation in accepting the

Demetrios Poliorketes and Peucestes. Compare also Pliny, xxxiv. 89, where he speaks of a sculptor,

Piston, having made a figure of a Roman for a biga by Tisikrates.

¹ vi. 2, 4.

latter as a reproduction of the work of Eutychides.¹ Conception and execution are equally admired. But, while in both these respects the statue is peculiarly attractive, grave objections are raised on the ground of deficiency in the dignity proper to the figure. We must, however, remember that Eutychides was a painter as well as a sculptor. The attractiveness no less than the defects of his work are due to the combination of qualities peculiar to each of these branches of art. A painter who trusts to the effect of natural surroundings would be satisfied with a merely graceful figure as a personification of a town or of a promontory where a sculptor would be called upon in any such personification to render it intelligible by its inherent force of expression. Eutychides conceived Antioch, as a painter would, seated high above the Orontes, and was content with a graceful figure, which had it been in a picture with the actual river beneath would have answered every purpose of art. As a sculptor, he was compelled by the traditions of his time, to personify the Orontes also, and place him under the feet of Antioch. In that he has succeeded. But the effect of his success is, so to speak, to make more naked the want of real force in the Antioch herself, while, on the other hand, it completes the pleasurable aspect of the whole. The figure of Orontes recalls a picture described by Philostratos in which the Alpheios rises from his flood to reach a crown to Pelops and Hippodameia as they pass along his bank.²

¹ This statue is engraved in Müller's *Denkmäler*, pl. 49, fig. 220; for the coin of Antioch, see No. 220*b*. The same design occurs also in a silver statuette in the British Museum, representing the town of Antioch, engraved in Visconti, *Op. Var.* i. pl. 18, fig. 18. Compare Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 412. While speaking in high terms of the effect of the statue in

the Vatican, Brunn is at some trouble to show that it lacks the religious earnestness and happy dignity of a Greek personification of the good time, however pleasing a realization it may have been to the people of Antioch to see their city thus perched above the river. But see the different opinion of Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed., ii. p. 135.

² *Imagines*, i. 17.

From the headlong Orontes, so admirably conceived, to the Eurotas, of which river also Eutychides made a statue, we should expect a change to a more or less placid figure. The Eurotas was of bronze, and the flux of form and line is said to have rivalled that of the river itself.¹ Such an expression, though in a strict sense meaningless, has yet the negative value of showing that we have here still to do with the type of river-god invented by the older artists, to express in bodily form the force and movement of a strong stream; not the later type presented by the statues of the Nile or the Tiber, expressing chiefly fertility. It is true that we do not in this instance expect a figure of the Eurotas conceived on the model of the Parthenon. Eutychides was a painter, and we look for a river-god from him more akin to the Kladeos and Alpheios of Olympia, where also a pictorial spirit exercised a strong though a somewhat different influence. Whether or not the suggestion of liquid movement contained in the long sweeping forms of the Olympian statues was directly adopted and worked out in the Eurotas, it may be taken as certain that the expression of praise applied to it by Pliny cannot at present be better illustrated than by them among all existing sculptures. For Olympia Eutychides made a statue of a boy-runner.² Add to this a marble statue of Dionysos,³ which had been removed to Rome, and the list of his recorded works is complete.

More known to gossip, if not to fame, in antiquity was another pupil of Lysippos, Chares of Lindos, the sculptor of a colossal bronze statue of Helios in Rhodes,

¹ Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 78, Eutychides Eurotam in quo artem ipso amne liquidiorem plurimi dixerunt. For illustrations of river-gods on coins see an article by Prof. Gardner in the Transactions of the R. Soc. Lit. 2nd series, ii. pls. 1-2.

² Pausanias, vi. 2, 4.

³ Pliny, N. H. xxxvi. 34. M. Homolle found in his excavations

at Delos four bases of statues inscribed with the name of a sculptor, Eutychides, whom he assigns to the second half of the second century B.C. Most probably he was a descendant of the Eutychides the pupil of Lysippos. See M. Homolle in the *Monuments Grecs*, 1879, p. 39, and p. 42.

a work which might have been thought from its dimensions to endure for all time. Yet within about half a century it had been thrown to the ground by an earthquake, and was allowed to lie there broken and neglected. It had been 105 feet high; the apparatus of war left behind by Demetrios, after his fruitless siege of Rhodes, is said to have supplied the necessary funds. The task lasted twelve years,¹ the figure having been cast hollow in a number of separate pieces which were afterwards literally built up one on the other with an inner structure of squared masonry. Neither the attitude nor the style is known. The idea of colossal form was probably derived from Lysippos. But to what extent beyond this Chares had been influenced by his pupillage in Sikyon is entirely uncertain. Indeed there must have been something unusual in his pupillage there, since it is expressly recorded that he was not shown by Lysippos the peculiar points and merits of old masters such as Myron, Polykleitos, and others, but was merely allowed to see him working and to follow his own devices thereafter.²

¹ Pliny, xxxiv. 41, certifies to these statements and speaks of the statue as a miracle even as it lay on the ground. He confirms also the statement that the vast hollows of the limbs and body had been filled in with stones to give stability. For the numerous other passages of ancient writers see Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, Nos. 1540-1554. Benndorf in the *Mitthei-*

lungen d. Inst. in Athen, i. p. 45, traces to an epigram in the *Anthology* (*Anth. Pal.* vi. 171) the origin of the common belief that the Colossus stood across the harbour of Rhodes, and acted as a light-tower, ships passing between his legs.

² *Auctor ad Heren.* iv. 6, 9 as quoted by Overbeck, *Ant. Schriftquellen*, No. 1556.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

SCHOOLS OF RHODES AND PERGAMOS.

The Farnese bull—Laoköon group—Borghese Gladiator—Apollo Belvidere—Victory of Samothrace—Sculptures in Athens—Sculptures from altar at Pergamos—Comparison with the Laoköon group—Sculptures of Gauls, &c., in Naples and Venice, &c.—The gift of Attalos to the Athenians.

THE national history of Greece ends with the Macedonian conquest. Our narrative, however, must still proceed. Not that we suppose true art capable of surviving such a disaster, but because subsequently under more favourable circumstances efforts were made to restore it. These circumstances were in the first place, the rise of the republic of Rhodes and the establishment of the kingdom of Pergamos; in the second, the fostering care of Rome. At best, as we now see, they only fanned to a new flame a smouldering fire; yet it is no more than fair for us to place ourselves in the position of contemporaries, and to judge of what was being accomplished without foreknowledge of the extinction that was to follow.

In Rhodes, and among the towns of Asia Minor, so far as the influence of Rhodes from an artistic point of view extended, the style and manner of Lysippos was taken to start with. Colossal dimensions in a statue appealed to the taste of the time, and when excess in this direction proved to be a failure, as in the Sun-god of Chares, recourse was had to complex groups, not, perhaps, without a considerable interval of

inactivity. If Pliny¹ was rightly informed, this inactivity lasted from B.C. 296 to 156. It may seem strange that art, after so long an interval, should be found taking up precisely the path where it had been lost in the direction of colossal designs. On the other hand, when once painting had discovered the charm of outdoor effects, the tendency towards the colossal was almost unavoidable in sculpture also. Though by no means constituting the whole art of Rhodes, where portrait sculpture for example abounded, compositions of great size and complexity were a striking feature in it; and fortunately there exist still two celebrated works to serve as illustrations—the large marble group in Naples known as the Farnese bull, and the marble group of Laoköon in the Vatican. The former representing the punishment of Dirke in being bound to the horns of a bull by Amphion and Zethos, was found towards the middle of the sixteenth century in the Baths of Caracalla at Rome.² Very extensive restorations were thought necessary, and were executed in a manner which has contributed largely to the hostile verdict so frequently pronounced on the group as a whole.³ It was removed to Naples in the eighteenth century, and again subjected to more restoration. For instance, Dirke is new down to the waist: nor is her present position accurate, as may be seen by comparing a cameo in Naples on which is the same subject.⁴ The heads and considerable portions of the limbs of Amphion, Zethos and Antiope are all modern. Yet enough remains to show that the

¹ Pliny, xxxiv. 51. Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 504, argues that this statement of Pliny, whether or not referring specially to sculpture in bronze, must be due to some break in the literary sources from which he drew his information rather than to any real acquaintance with the facts of the case.

² Engraved in the Museo Borbonico, xiv. pl. 5.

³ See Rayet and Thomas, *Milet et le Golfe Latmique*, p. 69, and Friederichs, *Bausteine*, No. 571.

⁴ Jahn, *Arch. Zeit.* 1853, p. 82, pl. 56, fig. 2. See also the coin of Thyatira engraved by C. O. Müller in the *Annali dell' Inst. Arch.* 1839, p. 288, along with the cameo in question. To be compared also are the coin of Akrasos or Nakrasa and the two contorniate medals in

art was of the same character as that of the Laoköon. The sculptors are recorded by Pliny to have been



Fig. 21.—Farnese Bull. Marble Group (Naples Museum).

Apollonios and Tauriskos of Tralles.¹ The group had been removed from Rhodes at the instance of Asinius

Arch. Zeit. 1853, pl. 58, Nos. 1^{a-b} and 2; for a general discussion of the grouping and merits of the sculpture, see the article of Welcker's in his *Alte Denkmäler*, i. p. 352, where among other matters he defends the presence of Antiope to which Müller had objected. She is objected to also by Dilthey,

Arch. Zeit. 1878, p. 47, one of the most recent writers on the subject.

¹ Pliny, N. H. xxxvi. 34, Zêthus et Amphion ac Dirce et taurus vinculumque ex eodem lapide, Rhodo advecta, opera Apollonii et Taurisci. The remark which follows: Parentum ii certamen de se facere, Menecratem videri

Pollio and placed among his spoils of ancient sculpture in Rome.

The scene lies on Mt. Kithaeron with its rocky ledges, vegetation and animal life, not always indicated with due subordination. The ferocious strength of the bull taxes the heroic energies of Zethos and Amphion to hold him, and here the question arises whether it was the intention of the sculptors to convey by this means a sense of the horrible penalty which Dirke was about to pay in being bound to such a monster, thus avoiding like the tragic poets the actual presentment of a horrible deed, or whether they had not rather been simply carried away by the energy of the legend, and had neglected its true climax, which, as we see from Pompeian frescos and on a beautiful vase in Berlin,¹ occurred at the moment when the bull dashed off dragging Dirke with him. The point of the legend was the punishment of Dirke, and if the sculptors chose an earlier moment of the incident in which the furious strength of the animal was conspicuous, and its consequences to Dirke apparent only by inference, it must be supposed that they made this choice for the sake of advantages in the matter of composition.² None the less it is clear that they have combined two artistically distinct elements of the legend, and the more ingenuity they have displayed in trying to force and fuse these elements

professi sed esse naturalem Artemidorum, has been clearly explained by Pliny's having misunderstood an expression common in Rhodian inscriptions, where a man is described as a son of so-and-so, but an adopted son of another. See Rayet and Thomas, *Milet et le Golfe Latmique*, p. 67, where this is explained and the credit of the explanation assigned to Müller and Hermann.

¹ Mus. Borbonico, xiv. pl. 4; two more frescos of the subject will be found in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, pl. 9. The vase in Berlin is

engraved *ibid.* pl. 7; for a list of known representations of the legend, see *ibid.* p. 43.

² Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, i. p. 356, describes very finely the force employed by Zethos and Amphion as suggestive of the horror of the punishment of Dirke that was to follow. But the force of the suggestion is surely dissipated altogether by the close proximity of Dirke, and the obvious fact that her punishment has already begun, and passed beyond the region of suggestion.

together, the more they have failed in appreciating the limits of art in dealing with the different stages of the story. We could imagine Zethos and Amphion in the act of binding the bull as here represented, if Dirke were standing aloof looking on at her approaching fate. But we cannot allow that to see her lying overpowered and waiting while the other end of the rope is being fastened to the horns of the bull, is at all satisfactory as an artistic motive. Yet that is what we see. The group, in fact, combines two motives long familiar in Greek sculpture, the subduing of a wild bull by Herakles or Theseus,¹ and the carrying away of Europa by the bull. To generate an idea or conception out of these two sources would have been quite consistent with the order of artistic progress, if the new idea or conception had been made to stand out intelligibly, and complete in itself, as might have been the case with a due modification of both scenes. As it is, the power of idealizing exhibited in this group, has been generated almost exclusively from a knowledge of the past performances of sculpture without the necessary invigoration of a fresh study of nature. No doubt the necessity of this invigoration is acknowledged in the sketch of the mountain with its varied forms of life, and in the disposition of the figures on it. But this only strengthens the argument that art had now arrived at a stage when the force of idealization had become one-sided, operating in the main, on technically acquired knowledge. In the present instance, it may be admitted that the technical knowledge had been largely derived from the followers of Lysippos with an interval of greater or less inactivity, during which the influence of pictorial representations of outdoor scenes had supervened, instructing the sculptor also in a dangerous facility of design.

In the group of Laoköon we are again invited to sup of

¹ See Dilthey, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, p. 45, where he compares the metope of the Theseion, in which Theseus overpowers the bull of Marathon.

horrors, and this, it should here be observed, is a new departure in art. For while older sculpture never shunned deeds of extreme violence and pain provided there was a strong and healthy reason to fall back on, here we have



Fig. 22.—Laoköon. Marble group (Vatican).

them executed with cool deliberation in the Farnese bull, and by means of ignoble agency in the Laoköon. In both cases the fable supplies an explanation, but a work of art should, to be successful, in its principal effect be independent of all explanation that would limit it to a particular place or time. Such limitations could be indicated in secondary details even in so peculiarly local a

story as that of Laoköon and his two sons. Greek art had long recognised the serpent as a protector of treasured objects, as a combative attendant of Athena, as capable of inflicting a wound which produced a life of misery for Philoktetes, or as a symbol of the vengeance exacted by the Furies, coiling itself round and biting a victim who has taken refuge at an altar, fresh from an act of murder.¹ It had recognised also on painted vases, if nowhere else, the design of a priest standing beside an altar and attended by two boys whose duty was to assist him in the sacrifice, and it had localized this scene somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Troad. In one instance, at least, a fragmentary vase of an excellent period in the British Museum, it had connected Philoktetes with such a scene; on another vase² the serpent is seen attacking him. So far then we have in existing remains a nucleus round which, it is conceivable, the legend of Laoköon may have grown into artistic form; and, should the growth seem to have been too rapid, it may be borne in mind that the legend had probably enjoyed in Asia Minor a currency and force which has not survived even in literature to a proportionate extent, still less in art.

Nor is it to be forgotten that Parrhasios, who had painted a Philoktetes, and was even reported to have tortured a captive to make a model for his Prometheus, was well known by his works at Lindos in Rhodes, and may have exercised much influence in preparing the way for the ideal of the Laoköon group.

¹ See the red-figure kantharos in the British Museum, with the design usually explained as representing Neoptolemos and Orestes at Delphi, though Klein has recently in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, p. 189, claimed it as a representation of Laoköon. For him the figure kneeling on the altar with the snake coiled round him, is

Laoköon, while the figure falling dead in the arms of Thanatos is Anchises, who has been slain already by the serpent. Robert, *Bild und Lied*, p. 210, objects with justice to this interpretation.

² This vase, and the greater part of the Museum fragment, are engraved in Milani, *Il Mito di Filottete*, pl. 1, figs. 2 and 5.

The belief was that when Laoköon in his priestly office, and accompanied by his two sons as ministrants, was engaged in the sacrifice of a bull at an altar on the sea-shore, twin serpents, with the speed and fascination of divine emissaries, crossed the strait from Tenedos, and seized upon the priest and his two sons. The fable justifies the combined and simultaneous punishment of father and sons, when it tells that one of the crimes of Laoköon had been his marriage. It was this version of the story that Virgil had before him.¹ But it was not altogether this version that was used by the sculptors of the marble group. They recognised the fatalism with which all three persons fell within the coils of the serpents, without the frantic attempts to escape which a naturalistic interpretation would place on the incident. But while thus obtaining sculpturesque effect, and at the same time showing that the serpents were divine agents before whom mortals must bow, the sculptors have so far departed from the absolutely fatalistic view that they have represented one of the sons as possibly escaping with his life. Here they seem to have taken into account the oldest version of the legend we know of, that given by Proklos as an excerpt from the *Iliupersis* of Arktinos of Miletos, where Laoköon and only one of his two sons perish. It cannot be said that they have followed Arktinos closely, since in the group there is no more than a possibility of escape for the older son. Indeed, the fatalism of the whole has generally produced the impression that the attempt to push off the serpents' coils would only induce a fresh and more effectual tightening of them. Still there is a touch of nature in thus interpreting the scene, which, though it may have been found in the legend itself in one or other of its various forms, must here stand to the credit of the artists, for this reason, that, by introducing it,

¹ *Æneid*, ii. 201 fol. The realized in the Pompeian fresco account of Virgil is admirably engraved in Kekulé, *Laoköon*, p. 28.

they sacrificed the strict balance of their group so far that the younger son, already paralysed in his whole body, loses his artistic counterpart by the possible escape of his brother; he becomes thereby more closely united with his father in fate and in effect. Meanwhile the older son, alarmed in the highest degree, but as yet unhurt, is, as has been said by Goethe, at once participant and spectator of the incident—a character which imparts to the group its effectiveness as the representation of a really tragic event, where otherwise it might have been no more than a painful reproduction of a scene of horror.¹

The marble group was found in 1506 in the ruins of the Baths of Titus in Rome. Pliny² describes it as being in his time in the palace of that emperor. The sculptors, he says, were Agesandros, Polydoros, and Athanodoros, of whom it is certain from other sources that Agesandros and Athanodoros were father and son respectively, and next to certain that Polydoros also was a son of Agesandros. They were Rhodian artists, and the probability is that they executed the group in Rhodes, whence it was removed to Rome along with the group of the Farnese Bull, that is to say, in the time of Virgil. As regards Athanodoros several inscribed bases of statues have been found in Italy bearing his name, and attesting his parentage³; so that if he had not himself emigrated to Rome his works had found special

¹ Jahn, Gr. Bilderchroniken, p. 112. Compare Brunn, Arch. Zeit. 1879, p. 167, who there describes how Prof. Stark had dug out this passage of Arktinos and found in it a confirmation of the view of the Laoköon group, which Goethe had formed from the sculpture itself. This view of Goethe Brunn quotes from Wahrheit und Dichtung, vol. xxii. (of the edition of 1855) p. 65 and again from vol. xxx. of the same edition, p. 310. He accepts the interpretation of Goethe, now

that he finds it confirmed by the passage of Arktinos. But Kekulé still, Laoköon, p. 37, will not go quite so far, while admitting that the possibility of the group depending on Virgil is quite excluded (p. 38). Sophocles had allowed Laoköon to escape, and both sons to perish. See Kekulé, *ibid.* p. 35, on the chief literature on this point.

² N. H. xxxvi. 37-38.

³ These inscriptions have recently been published in fac-simile by

favour there. In either case the character of the writing in these inscriptions would determine his date to be about the year 100 B.C. A difficulty, however, that has been made much of in connection with the date of the Laoköon group is raised by an expression of Pliny, that the three artists had executed it *de consilii sententia*. On the one side it is argued that this can only mean "in accordance with the decision of the council," that is, the council of the Emperor Titus, in whose palace the sculpture was to be placed.¹ But we have no hesitation in accepting the evidence of the inscriptions just referred to as satisfactorily disposing of this interpretation, so far as concerns Titus, even if there were nothing else against it. On the other side it has been proposed to explain the phrase as meaning that the sculptors had thought out their design in common, or, perhaps, had accepted, after consultation, each a particular share of the work, the father, for example, Laoköon, and the two sons respectively the two sons of Laoköon.² There is, however, no absolute need of any such explanation, probable or otherwise. Pliny was not incapable of mis-

Kekulé in his Laoköon, pp. 18-22. The forms of the letters he maintains are more recent than in inscriptions of the date of Attalos I. or of Eumenes II. and Attalos II. He concludes by placing them about 100 B.C. (p. 26).

It may here be noted that the fragment at Naples consisting of the head and chest of a male figure which was supposed to belong to another copy of the Laoköon group has recently been fitted to an arm in the Farnese palace at Rome and proved to belong to a figure of a giant resembling those of the Pergamos frieze. See Lange in the Arch. Zeit. 1883, p. 81.

¹ The authority of Lachmann, who maintained that the *consilium* here could only mean an official board, would never perhaps have been put aside but for the desire

in many to avoid what seemed then the necessary conclusion, that it was the board or council of the Emperor Titus. Compare Welcker, Alte Denkmäler, i. p. 335, and Kekulé, Laoköon, p. 15.

² This distribution of the figures between the father and sons was suggested by Winckelmann. See Kekulé, Laoköon, p. 17. Here it may be mentioned that the Laoköon literature down to 1876 is collected by Blümner in his edition of Lessing's Laoköon. Since then it has increased considerably, but so far as anything new has been contributed it is noticed in Kekulé's book just referred to. I do not profess to have seen and read the whole of it. I only hope that nothing of real interest has escaped me on the question.

reading a Greek inscription, and as it happens with particular appropriateness to the present question, we know how a formula, frequently met with on Rhodian inscriptions, was on one occasion blundered by him into an entertaining statement to the effect that Apollonios and Tauriskos, the sculptors of the Farnese Bull in Rhodes, had disputed about their parentage, saying, that Artemidoros was their natural but Menekrates their visible parent. There can be no doubt that he has merely constructed all this out of the familiar Rhodian formula, in which a man describes himself as "by nature" the son of So-and-so, "by adoption" the son of So-and-so.¹ With this before us it is in no way extravagant to assume that in the case of the Laoköon sculptors also Pliny has made an awkward use of a peculiarly Rhodian phrase. His words indeed are an exact translation of γνώμα προστατῶν or ἐπιστατῶν, characteristic of public documents in Rhodes.² We should have then only to infer, not unnaturally, that the execution of the group had been the subject of a public decree, and that Pliny had supposed he was indicating this sufficiently by translating these words. And in truth he indicates it quite clearly, though his words have so long been a bone of contention.

It has been observed from the inscriptions of Athanodoros found in Italy that the date of them falls about

¹ The expression for "adoption" is καθ' ὁμοσίαν. See note ante, p. 360.

² Kekulé, Laoköon, p. 16, supposes that the words *de consilii sententia* had been translated by Pliny from some Greek phrase, perhaps in an epigram. I prefer to think that the Greek phrase so translated had been found on the base of the statue; the phrase ἐποίησαν γνώμα ἐπιστατῶν could not perhaps stand alone. But in an inscription found in Knidos (Newton, Discov. ii. p. 749, No. 31), we have on the base of a statue ἐπὶ Νεοπολιτῶν

προστατῶν ἀφίκομαν Ἑρμῆς Ἀφροδίτην πατέρα, ἀλλὰ χαίρετε. Thanks to a note from Kekulé, I have found that G. Wolff, in the Arch. Zeit. 1864, p. 200*, had gone so far on my way as to suggest that Pliny had found the phrase ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ, and had translated it by his *de consilii sententia*. So also Jahn, Pop. Aufsätze, p. 169, and Wachsmuth, Festrede zur Akad. Preisvertheilung in Göttingen, 1870, p. 13, regarded the group as having been executed at the instance of the Rhodian Bule.

B.C. 100. His share along with his father in the Laoköon group may have been at an earlier period of life. An extreme limit would bring us to about B.C. 130. It remains, however, to be seen, whether the artistic treatment of the group can be reconciled with that of other sculptures for which there is sufficient evidence of their belonging to somewhere near the period of B.C. 130-100. There is, for example, the Borghese Gladiator, as it is called, in the Louvre (Pl. XXXIV.). In reality it is a marble statue of an armed runner in the hoplitodromos. The inscription bears the name of the sculptor Agasias of Ephesos.¹ Like the Laoköon, it is on the one hand a display of muscular form under the severest tension, and on the other an example of creative force originating in technical knowledge of muscular form, and only extending beyond this knowledge to the small degree of some slight observation of nature itself. The type of head is derived from Lysippos. At a greater distance this is true also of the whole form. And yet it is manifest that there is something in the statue that constitutes a break with the older traditions of Greek sculpture, and allies it rather with the later Græco-Roman movement. The Laoköon produces the same impression. In both the idea is carried out with complete technical skill, and with singular force. But it is an idea generated out of this skill, to which indeed, it is a slave. As a consequence there is no glimpse in either of these works of what is felt to be artistic style in a

¹ Found in the 17th century near Antium, Capo d' Anzo, where previously the Apollo Belvidere had been found. Finely published in photography by Rayet, *Mon. de l'Art Ant.* pt. 3, pls. 5-6, whose article on the style of the sculpture and on the date and genealogy of Agasias is of much consequence. He assigns the sculpture to B.C. 170 as an extreme limit of earliness. On inscribed bases of statues with the name of Agasias, see also Boeckh,

C. I. Gr. No. 2285b, and M. Homolle, in the *Monuments Grecs*, 1879, p. 50, and in the *Bullet. de Corr. Hellén.* 1881, p. 462. In two of these inscriptions the Agasias mentioned may be the grandson of the sculptor of the "armed runner." It is remarkable that in both he is allied with Aristandros, son of Skopas the Parian, that is to say, a lineal descendant of the famous sculptor.

good sense. Observation and even touches of nature there are, but they are wholly dominated by the technical idea; and, indeed, nothing else was to be expected in circumstances where trained skill and no doubt also the appliances of sculpture were handed down in families during times of no true national life and no congenial encouragement of art. We can imagine the "armed runner" of Agasias and the Laoköon executed under these circumstances, and under provocation rather than encouragement to produce effective designs. It is only just, however, to add that the sculptors in these cases have striven hard to preserve genuinely Hellenic traditions; and if they have failed, in so far as their works leave us with an impression of a break in these traditions, yet the failure is confined to the one matter of idealizing power. It will be seen that it was possible about this time to go amiss in other directions also. Meanwhile the position of the "armed runner" and the Laoköon in the history of sculpture may be described as a prolongation of the artistic traditions derived from the last great school—that of Lysippos—disguised largely by the extreme force with which the idea is presented to us. It is force of this kind which when once free from the powerful influence of older traditions produces caricature. That is to say, it reproduces an idea with the least possible encumbrance of form. If it could be proved definitely that the Venus of Milo is the work of a Rhodian sculptor, as, indeed, is frequently claimed, we should then see that the school of Rhodes included also men who were capable of holding faithfully by some of the best of the older traditions of Greek art. The beautiful marble head of Aphrodite from Pergamos, now in Berlin (Pl. XXXII.), would be another illustration to the same effect, unless we suppose the school of Pergamos to have also retained these traditions in some cases.

It may seem strange that sculptures like the Laoköon, the Borghese Gladiator, and the Apollo Belvidere, should have obtained so vast a share of favour, not only



MARBLE STATUE OF ARMED RUNNER, BY AGASIAS (LOUVRE).

from the educated public, but also from highly trained artists, while often, and particularly of late years, they have been spoken of with disdain by men who have studied carefully the development of Greek art. The problem resolves itself when we allow that these sculptures excel in the forcible presentation of an idea; because then we can see how successfully they would appeal to general tastes. When, further, it is allowed that they retain much of the older traditions of art, we account for the concessions of artists to the popular verdict. But when, on the other hand, we maintain as a principle that the more forcible the presentation of an idea, the more truthful must be the observation of nature, and the more profound the technical knowledge, the attitude of derogation assumed by many critics becomes intelligible and justifiable. An imposing or striking effect, if accompanied by a fair amount of real work and knowledge, may escape the criticism of artists sometimes. But it stands to the credit of later Græco-Roman sculpture that it abandoned this search for effect, and confined itself to workmanship and a fresh study of nature in some respects.

In these remarks we have classed by anticipation the Apollo Belvidere,¹ the division of opinion as to its merits being an illustration of the case in point. So long as the Vatican statue was generally held to represent Apollo holding out the ægis to destroy an armed host of enemies to Greece, for example the Gauls in their

¹ This marble statue was found near Antium, Capo d' Anzo, in the 15th century. Compare Friederichs, Bausteine, No. 663, who accepts the explanation of the motive as representing Apollo terrifying with his ægis probably the Gauls, who in B.C. 278 descended on Delphi. He says positively that it is not an original Greek work, but a Roman copy, as may be seen by comparing it with the marble head of the same type found in Rome and known as

the Steinhäuser Apollo. This and the Belvidere head are published side by side in photography in the *Mon. dell' Inst.*, viii. pls. 39-40, with an article in the *Annali*, 1867, p. 124, by Kekulé, who, however, since then has summed up his views in the *Akademisches Kunstmuseum zu Bonn*, p. 148, pl. 1, while again, in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, pl. 2, he gives photographs of both these heads with the restorations removed. The Steinhäuser head

descent upon Delphi, wide scope was offered to the imagination, and the imposing character of the statue



Fig. 23.—Apollo Stroganoff. Bronze statuette.

was proportionately increased. This notion, however, was based on the comparison of a small bronze figure in St. Petersburg, known from its possessor as the Stroganoff Apollo (Fig. 23),¹ which it is now argued had held out in the left hand a bow, and the end of his mantle, not an ægis.² Nevertheless the attitude is still imposing enough. The idea is vividly realized and the workmanship is passable. It may seem hard therefore on the sculptor that he should not be permitted to sacrifice workmanship for what appears to be the greater public good of presenting a fairly elevated idea in a

manner generally intelligible.³ No doubt; but apart from

is rather smaller throughout than the Belvidere, and is held by Kekulé to represent an older type of Apollo. It is much more Greek in appearance. When Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed., ii. p. 322, praises the superiority of this head and in the same breath mentions the suspicion as to its genuineness, he must be held to confess a want of independent judgment.

¹ Stephani, *Apollon Boëdromios*; Jahn, *Populäre Aufsätze*, p. 267, pls. 3-4.

² See Furtwaengler in the *Arch.*

Zeit. 1882, p. 247, and Mr. Watkiss Lloyd in the *Architect*, 24th March 1883. But since then Kieseritzky, in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, pl. 5, p. 27, gives a photograph of the Stroganoff bronze, and argues decidedly that Furtwaengler's observations are entirely wrong. The bronze has been broken and slightly altered, so that it is difficult to be quite certain; but I confess to a feeling in favour of the theory of holding the end of the mantle and a bow.

³ Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 388,



MARBLE STATUE OF VICTORY, FROM SAMOTHRACE (LOUVRE).

the elevation of the idea, which is far from beyond question, every step in this direction is an encroachment on the province of the non-substantive arts, and as such would be indefensible. Not all the resources of gracefulness which the sculptor has here lavished on secondary details, such as the hair and sandals, can save his work from this charge. It may be that the Apollo is a Roman copy, as some think; but in that case it would necessarily be a copy from a work invented in the period now under discussion; and that is hardly probable.

We have followed, perhaps too far for the moment, the influence, as it appears to us, of the older Greek traditions on the Rhodian school of sculpture, and must now return to the consideration of other phenomena, such as are presented by the marble statue of Victory from Samothrace,¹ now in the Louvre (Pl. XXXV.). A draped figure of Victory in rapid motion, placed aloft on a massive base in the form of the prow of a galley, and erected on a commanding height, had, from the beginning of the 3rd century B.C., been a favourite monument of success in naval battles. The marble Victory found at Megara,² and now in Athens, is another instance. Though later

says: "The sculptor had no longer believed in his god, but had merely held him before his phantasy as a brilliant, attractive image. Hence the enrichment, even the elegance, with which he has adorned him, the finely ornamented sandals, the carefully disposed hair."

¹ Published in photography by M. Rayet, *Mon. de l'Art Ant.* pt. 2, pl. 1, which we have reproduced. Engraved in the *Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, ii. pl. 64, and with a restoration on pp. 58-59 accompanied by a full discussion as to style and date by Benndorf, his conclusion being, p. 83, that the statue had existed previously to B.C. 306, and was then copied on the

coins of Demetrios Poliorketes. It is certain that a statue of Victory in this attitude, and raised on the prow of a vessel, had existed at that time. But it by no means follows that the Victory found in Samothrace was that particular statue. The same figure was copied on Roman coins, and the marble of the Louvre may also be a copy of the original design.

² Published in the *Mittheilungen des Inst. in Athen*, 1881, pls. 10-11, p. 275, with article by Purgold, who proves that the statue had originally crowned one of the two hills or eminences of Megara. It now stands near the Theseion in Athens.

in style, it shows how closely the type was adhered to, while, at the same time, it serves to connect Athens, or its neighbourhood at least, with the artistic influences of the period. That the idea itself was the creation of the Rhodian school rather than of an Athenian sculptor is extremely probable. But this would not exclude a refining effect in the general treatment of the idea on the part of Athens. So much it is advisable to bear in mind, because it may serve to explain why the Victory of Samothrace surpasses in refinement the draped figures of the Pergamos frieze, with which, on the whole, it must be compared as a contemporary or nearly contemporary work. It is true that the existence of a similar statue at Megara is no proof of the Victory of Samothrace having been executed by an Athenian sculptor. On the other hand, if the contemporaneousness of the Victory of Samothrace with the Pergamos frieze be admitted, some explanation must be found for its technical superiority, and the statue from Megara indicates the quarter in which to look for it. Or, if it be still maintained that from the propinquity of Samothrace and Pergamos one or other of the same sculptors would most naturally have been employed in both, it must then be allowed that for the single statue in Samothrace a degree of technical skill had been displayed in the treatment of drapery which was not thought necessary for the reliefs of Pergamos. It has been held that this technical skill points to an earlier and better period of art than that at which the Pergamos sculptures are placed. This, however, can hardly be now agreed to. To illustrate the refined though sadly weakened character of Athenian sculpture in the 2nd century B.C., we have the marble head of Athena¹ by Eubulides found in 1874 among the remains of the monument executed and

¹ Published in the *Mittheilungen des Inst. in Athen*, 1882, pl. 5, p. 81, by L. Julius, who rightly, as we think, assigns it to the 2nd century

B.C. The head is considerably over life size, and the top of it is worked to receive a helmet probably of bronze. In the lists of proxenoi

apparently also dedicated by that sculptor in Athens. Or, as an example of more vigorous art of about the same age, we may take the head and torso¹ of a statue usually described as a Victory, found in 1837, also among the ruins of this monument of Eubulides. And again, as bearing particularly on the question of drapery, we may quote two reliefs at Athens² representing heavily-draped female figures advancing with the movement of a dance. They are little more than studies of drapery, and the same is true of the Victory of Samothrace. But there is a finer intelligence displayed in them than in her. The sculptor of the Victory has attained confusion where he supposed he was displaying, and indeed does display, the almost unlimited resources of his skill. He has, besides, given way to the fashion of breaking up the surfaces of his folds, so as to give the effect of a thin material at the least possible cost of thought. So far he cannot be called a pure Athenian. He is more akin to the sculptors of Asia Minor who produced the frieze of Magnesia in the Louvre, the reliefs from Priene in the British Museum, and the frieze of Pergamos in Berlin, all different from each other in important points, and yet all of one race, so to speak. The rendering of the wings of the Victory, of which several pieces are to be seen in the Louvre, is the same as in the Pergamos reliefs. In movement, and mere drapery, the Victory may compare with the Athena in those reliefs, just as the figure of a giant beside her, assailed by her serpent, compares in other respects with the Laoköon.

at Delphi, appears, under the year B.C. 191, Eubulides son of Eucheir of Athens; but whether he received this honour on account of some act of liberality as at Athens is not known. See Bergk, in the *Philologus*, 1883, p. 246.

¹ Published by Ross, *Arch. Aufsätze*, i. pls. 12-13, p. 146. The connection of the head and torso is not everywhere admitted,

while Julius (*loc. cit.*) would reject both as having been part of the monument of Eubulides. This monument is described by Pausanias, i. 2, 4.

² Found in the theatre of Dionysos, 1862. Cf. von Sybel, *Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen*, Nos. 311-312. One of them is given in photography in the *Revue Arch.* 1868, pl. 2.

These sculptures of Pergamos to which reference has just been made consist of reliefs in marble executed on a colossal scale for the enrichment of a vast altar erected apparently by King Eumenes II. (B.C. 196–157) in a spirit of display.¹ This altar was a marvel in ancient times, when everything stupendous was a marvel, when the amount of physical labour exhibited was better appreciated than the mental and imaginative labour which ought to precede it. The subject—a war of gods and earth-engendered giants—had been long familiar in art, and may be said to have required no high degree of mental and imaginative labour for the rendering of it. But there were happening in those days and in that district events which were well calculated to recall the ancient myth, and to force upon the artists a remodelling of it in some measure. We speak of artists not only because there is more work in these reliefs than would naturally be assigned to one man, but also because we are told of several sculptors, Isigonos, Phyromachos, Stratonikos, and Antigonos,² who were employed in Pergamos on sculptures of a somewhat kindred order, to which it will be necessary soon to refer. In regard to the reliefs of the

¹ The best illustrations we have seen of these sculptures are those of M. Rayet in his *Mon. de l'Art Ant.* pt. 4, pls. 4–5; and with his judgment on them, on the whole, we agree, though we cannot admit that the subject was a meaningless one to the artists. Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. ii. p. 230 fol., gives an elaborate discussion of the sculptures, making reference to Conze and others, who had previously written on the subject. But his conclusion, p. 259, that these sculptures serve as a standard for the 2nd century B.C., seems to us doubtful, because they may represent only one direction of art at this time, generated under local and special circumstances. It may

have elsewhere taken directions which at present we know nothing of. The official publication of these sculptures, entitled *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon* (Berlin, 1880), by Conze and others, gives three plates of sculptures. The report of Conze on the sculptures occupies pp. 49–71. At p. 65 he discusses the fragments of a smaller frieze, which, so far as can be made out, illustrated the legend of Telephos. He says (p. 49) that the larger frieze encircled all four sides of the altar, and extended to about 400 feet in length, the height being 2'30 metres.

² Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 84.



SLAB OF FRIEZE FROM PERCAMOS (BERLIN).

altar (Pl. XXXVI.), it is urged that they reveal a clear and distinct relationship to the Rhodian school as represented by the Laoköon group.¹ It may even be said that the idea of the serpents in that group could hardly have originated except out of some such previous combination of snake and human form as is presented on the Athena slab of the Pergamos frieze. Such a scene would of itself suggest a further application to the Laoköon legend. It is true, as we have shown, that the sculptors of the Laoköon could have obtained models to start from in much older art. But there is this advantage in regarding the Pergamos sculptures as having suggested the Laoköon, that we have in the nearly contemporary history of that kingdom the fact of long and fierce struggles with the Gauls of Asia Minor, whose violence and barbarousness seem to have again recalled vividly to the Greeks the old mythical contests of the gods and the earth-engendered giants. In this manner, a myth which had often been rendered in art came to be invigorated by the observation of new and striking events, while the success with which it was now represented in sculpture, together with the fresh impulse towards this class of ideas, may reasonably have suggested the suitability of the legend of Laoköon for similar treatment, the more so since it was a legend localized in the same neighbourhood. Undoubtedly the task of a large group sculptured in the round was a far greater difficulty than a design in relief. But the Rhodian sculptors, we may suppose, had many advan-

¹ Kekulé, Laoköon, gives two plates in photography showing the head of Laoköon side by side with the head of a Pergamos giant, and concludes (p. 40) that the Laoköon is a later development of the other, as Conze had supposed. M. Wagnon, in the *Revue Arch.* 1882, pls. 16-17, p. 321, thinks the same, while pointing out (p. 330) that

the task of the Laoköon was more severe than that of the Pergamos reliefs, and that, therefore, we must be cautious not to call it too readily inferior to them.

Furtwaengler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 161, gives a sketch of a sculpture in Wilton House, which appears to be a later modification of one of the Pergamene groups.

tages for such a task in the traditions of their own school.

The slab of Athena and Enkelados to which reference has been made, will serve as an illustration of the general character of these reliefs from Pergamos. The giant has sunk on his knee ; the serpent of Athena girds him in its coils ; the goddess herself seizes him by the hair ; and at this, his last extremity, his mother Gæa rises from the earth with anguish and imploring on her face. But Victory floats down towards Athena. The idea is defective in this respect, that the serpent of Athena is undistinguishable from the serpents which form the legs of other giants on the frieze, and which also take a combative part, so that at first sight it seems as if Enkelados were committing suicide. It is true that the other deities employ the aid of their symbolic animals ; but the possibility of a mistake ought to have shown the advisability of leaving out the serpent of Athena, the more so when the Victory close at hand would have indicated her part. If then this motive is to be considered an invention of the artist, it must be pronounced a failure which the sculptors of the Laoköon, if they were influenced by it, were able to rectify. The attitude of the giant is pointed to as a probable model for Laoköon, but this very attitude can be traced back to the 5th century B.C.,¹ and has this advantage in the early examples, that the action expresses horror at the approaching stroke of an assailant, while here the giant is in the somewhat ludicrous position of assuming this attitude to enable Athena more conveniently to seize him by the hair. The figure of Gæa rising from the earth we have already seen in the sculptures from Priene. It had

¹ See for example the attitude of the Minotaur in combat with Theseus on a kylix painted by Epiktetos in the British Museum (Vase Cat., No. 828). The same attitude,

though reversed, occurs in a Gigantomachia of the 4th century B.C. on a hydria from the Cyrenaica but obviously of Athenian workmanship, in the British Museum.

long been a known artistic motive. But the piteousness of her appeal is a new feature, and lends a powerful emphasis to the agony of her son. Athena and Nike are little more than studies of drapery executed with intelligence and great force, but with a confusing rather than a salutary effect on the composition. The forms of Enkelados are of a large and fine mould; they too are rendered in detail with intelligence, but again without a sense of subordination towards a general effect. Or take the giant fighting against Hekate in another part of the frieze. It cannot be said that the sculptor was here ignorant of bodily structure either in mass or in detail; but the result of his knowledge is what may be compared to anything rather than a sensitive being. No doubt the face of this giant is of a more massive and composed type than the Laoköon, and this is true also of the Enkelados. But though this difference on the part of the Laoköon may be evidence of later degradation, it must be admitted to be compensated for by the finer appreciation of the forms of bodily structure under circumstances which seriously affected them. In one case we see a giant who is assisted in the battle by the snakes which form his legs. One of the snakes darts at an eagle, and the eagle seizes it by the lower jaw. The spectacle would be amusing if it were not so feeble an attempt to deal with a familiar motive in Greek art—an eagle seizing a snake—under entirely new circumstances. While allowing, then, that the Pergamos frieze with these various characteristics was probably a little earlier than the Laoköon group, and while admitting that a common impulse had led to the production of both, we still think that the Rhodian artists display in the Laoköon a finer observance of the traditions of Greek sculpture.

We have recently mentioned the names of Isigonos, Phryomachos, Stratonikos, and Antigonos, who, it is stated, had sculptured the battles of Attalos and

Eumenes against the Gauls,¹ and who, it is not impossible, may have one or other taken part in the sculptures of this great altar. There is, however, uncertainty on the point, even if we take it as proved that the altar was erected by Eumenes II., and that it was for him that these sculptors executed their designs of battles against the Gauls. Meantime we are told that Attalos had bestowed on the Athenians a series of sculptures which were to be seen on the south wall of the acropolis representing battles against giants, against Amazons against the Persians at Marathon, and against the Gauls in Mysia. It is argued that the Attalos here spoken of was the first of the name, and that his gift was made about B.C. 200,² shortly after his victories. At the same time it may be doubted whether so immediate a realization of actual events as the war against the Gauls was likely in the region of higher art, not to say that if such a subject as the Gigantomachia had been executed in a conspicuous manner in the time of Attalos I., the reproduction of it on the altar of Eumenes II. would necessarily be marked with the character of a design at second hand, which it would be hard to admit. The question turns on a number of sculptures in marble which have been held justly to represent part of the gift of Attalos to the Athenians. If they correspond in style with the reliefs of the altar at Pergamos, we may cease to connect them with Attalos I., unless we assign the altar to him also. These

¹ Pliny, N. H. xxxiv., 84, *Plures artifices fecere Attali et Eumenis adversus Gallos praelia, Isigonus, Phylomachus, Stratonicus, Antigonus qui volumina condidit de sua arte.* Compare Brunn, *Annali dell' Inst.* 1870, p. 321. It was Eumenes II. (B.C. 168-166), and Attalos I. (B.C. 235-229), who defeated the Gauls. Obviously these artists could not have worked jointly throughout so long a

period, while the great exertions of Eumenes II. in enriching his capital would lead to the belief that it was in his time that the deeds of his ancestor and himself against the Gauls were glorified in art.

² Pausanias, i. 25, 2. Compare Brunn, *Annali dell' Inst.* 1870, p. 321, and Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd ed. ii. p. 204. Friederichs, however, *Bausteine*, p. 322, adopts Attalos II.

sculptures represent Gauls and Amazons lying fatally wounded or still in the attitude of defending life to the last, and they include the so-called dying gladiator of the Capitoline Museum in Rome.¹ The Museum of Naples contains a Gaul faintly raising himself with blood rushing from his side, a giant stretched on his back in death, an Amazon similarly dead, and a Per-



Fig. 24.—Dying Gaul, marble statue (Capitoline Museum, Rome).

sian or Amazon also lying slain. The Museum of Venice has a Gaul lying on his back with blood flowing from his side, a Gaul sunk on one knee, but still defending himself, and another Gaul falling backward. The Vatican possesses a Persian fallen yet defending himself.

These figures answer to the description of the gift of Attalos in subject, and in the peculiarity of the scale²

¹ These eight figures in marble in Naples, Venice, and the Vatican are engraved in the *Mon. dell' Inst.*, ix. pls. 19–21, to accompany the article of Brunn in *Annali*, 1870, p. 292 fol.

² Pausanias, i. 25, 2, says they were each two cubits, ὅσον τε δύο πηχῶν ἕκαστον. Compare Brunn,

Annali dell' Inst., 1870, p. 298. Some have supposed, but, as we think, without reason, even if there were no sculptures to be guided by, that this expression of Pausanias refers to the dimensions of the several groups of subjects and not to the individual figures.

on which they are executed, while again the unusual fact of their being mostly sculptured to be seen from a bird's-eye point of view reminds us that the figures of Attalos were placed against or on the south wall of the acropolis. We may not be clear as to how the entire series of designs was arranged, since at the best only a small part remains, but that part better than anything else helps us to realize the scheme of arrangement. In noticing particularly the scale of the figures—they were each two cubits—Pausanias must have been struck by it. He might have found an easy explanation of it if he had bethought himself that the figures were likely to be copies of larger works executed in Pergamos to celebrate the victory of Attalos. It is the character of reduced copies to lose all true notion of scale, and that is the character of the sculptures still surviving. They are reduced copies of works that had been executed on a colossal scale, and are necessarily limited in their efficiency as a standard to judge the originals by. It is in seizing the true action that an otherwise faithful copy is almost certain to labour behind, and that is the case with these sculptures. We may trust them, however, in regard to the special types they represent of Gaul, giant, Amazon, or Persian, and in regard also to the general treatment of form. In these matters it may be that they take us back to an older stage of sculpture than that which we have just seen on the altar of Eumenes; undoubtedly they are much inferior from a technical point of view. Everywhere the treatment of details such as the hair and the markings of bodily structure are attended with coarseness and even ignorance. Whether we take the figures in Naples or in Venice, the impression is always the same of something foreign to true Greek art, both in spirit and in execution. So that with every allowance for the superiority of the originals, we must still suppose that in the time of Attalos I. the revival of sculpture conspicuous on the altar of Eumenes II. had made little or no advance. It had elaborated, no doubt, the

types of Gauls and Orientals, and would have rendered very important service, if it had succeeded in combining technical traditions with its new observations of natural characteristics in this class of beings. That was left to the next generation, with considerable loss to the realism which had been indulged in before.

In considering to which of these two generations the sculptors Isigonos, Phyromachos, Stratonikos, and Antigonos belonged, we may remember that Phyromachos is known from an inscription found in Delos, to have worked there in conjunction with Nikeratos, who in another inscription found in the same place is recorded to have executed certain sculptures illustrating a battle against Gauls.¹ In this battle, it appears that Philetæros, a brother of Eumenes II., distinguished himself, and it was in his honour that the monument was raised in Delos. Phyromachos, therefore, and probably also the other three mentioned with him as sculptors of the wars of Attalos and Eumenes against the Gauls, had belonged to the second generation of sculptors in Pergamos; and from the fact of their not having confined their labours to that state may be argued the spread of Pergamene influence among the other centres of art in Greece. But whether they had been associated with the altar of Eumenes II. it is impossible to say.

¹ These inscriptions were found by M. Homolle, and are published by him in the *Monuments Grecs*, 1879, pp. 44-48. He concludes that the Philetæros celebrated in one of the two inscriptions was the

son of Attalos I., and not the Philetæros who was the founder of the dynasty, but who had no battles to fight against the Gauls so far as is known.

CHAPTER XXIX.

GREEK SCULPTURE IN ROME.

School of Pasiteles—His pupil Stephanos—Menelaos, pupil of Stephanos—Sculptures by them—Style and probable origin of this school—Comparison with sepulchral reliefs—Statue of female runner in the Vatican — Arkesilaos — Kleomenes — Zenodoros — Portraiture in Roman times.

FROM the exaggerations of form and rude vigour of action in the Pergamos sculptures to the over-refining and quaint sentimentalism of the Greek school in Rome is a change, not a development. It might even be called a revulsion, if we were certain that the over-refining, with its attendant sentimentalism, had in reality been an invention of that school, in particular an invention of Pasiteles. All we know is that it flourished under his pupil Stephanos, and again under the pupil of Stephanos, Menelaos. It is a fair inference that Pasiteles had practised the same manner, and, in fact, had been the founder of the school in Rome. But this by no means excludes the possibility that long before his time the style of sculpture with which his name is now associated had been known in Greece, not indeed as a leading but as a transitional phase of art. Pasiteles would then stand as perhaps the original importer of it into Rome. On that view of the case examples of the same manner ought to be forthcoming in Greece. Meantime the general opinion is that because the works of Pasiteles and his followers found vast favour at Rome in the last century of the

Republic and beginning of the Empire, they were therefore the products of an artistic taste peculiar to that period. To a large extent this is obviously true; but there is no need to claim for Rome and its taste the absolute invention of the artistic manner in question.

Out of a considerable number of sculptures which may fairly be assigned to the school of Pasiteles, only two can be claimed for it with certainty—the statue of a youthful male figure, nude, in the Villa Albani (Fig. 25),¹ bearing the name of the sculptor Stephanos, who styles himself a pupil of Pasiteles, and the group known as Orestes and Elektra in the Villa Ludovisi,² inscribed with the name of Menelaos who calls himself a pupil of Stephanos. On them the following questions have been made to turn from time to time: whether the school they represent had not constructed a new type of figure from two or more older models, in particular from the canons of Polykleitos and Lysippos; ³ whether it had not, while following a somewhat archaic model, as for example in the type of head and breadth of chest, added a new and original



Fig. 25.—Marble statue. By Stephanos.

¹ Kekulé, *Gruppe des Künstlers Menelaos*, pl. 2, fig. 3, p. 21; Flasch, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, pl. 15.

² Kekulé, *ibid.* frontispiece. This group is frequently now called *Merope and Æpytos*. But there is no need to search for particular names when we find the same male figure existing alone in the statue by Stephanos and the same female figure in the Museum of Prince

Torlonia surviving from a group in which her companion must have been quite different in attitude and action from the Orestes in the Ludovisi group or in the Naples group (Kekulé, *ibid.* pl. 2, fig. 1). See *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1883, p. 141.

³ Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 596. Jahn, *Berichte d. sächs. Ges. d. Wissen.* 1861, p. 118, objects to this view.

study of the superficial aspects of nature, as for example in the rendering of the skin and the parts lying next to it;¹ or whether it had not in fact only reproduced an original Greek type of the Peloponnesian school in the 5th century B.C.²

It will be seen that in all these questions a relationship to early Peloponnesian sculpture is assumed as, indeed, it must be, since nowhere else could a prototype be found for the shape of head and the high square shoulders which characterize so strikingly these sculptures of the school of Pasiteles. This relationship is confirmed by a marble torso found at Sparta, believed to be a copy from a Peloponnesian original, the copy itself being executed during that part of the 5th century B.C. when art was in course of transition from the exactness and precision of archaism to the freedom and fulness of Polykleitos and Pheidias.³ A minute comparison of the measurements of the torso with those of a statue in St. Petersburg, usually held to belong to the school of Pasiteles, shows that both have been made from one and the same original, though with a marked difference

¹ Kekulé, *Gruppe des Menelaos*, takes the bronze Apollo from Pompeii in Naples as the best illustration of the style of Pasiteles, p. 33, p. 44, p. 45, and makes a strong point of this use of the living model as the most characteristic element in the new school. He engraves the Pompeian bronze, pl. 1, fig. 1.

² Conze, *Beiträge*, p. 24 and p. 27, holds that the statue by Stephanos is essentially the copy of a type of statue of somewhat archaic manner, which he indicates as Peloponnesian by referring to the female figure of a runner in the Vatican (p. 28). He is even inclined to identify the original type of the statue by Stephanos as the work of Polykleitos. But Flasch, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, p. 126, while agreeing that the sculptures of the

Pasiteles school were copied directly from a Peloponnesian original, will not allow that the original had proceeded from the hands of Polykleitos. Compare Helbig, *Camp. Wandmalerei*, p. 16.

³ Flasch, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, pl. 16, pp. 126-130, gives a most careful and critical examination of this torso, with the result here stated. Comparing it with the statue in St. Petersburg, he concludes (p. 129) that both are copies from the same original, but that the Spartan torso is a copy made not long after the original, and with the freedom of a true artist in a time of transition. The St. Petersburg statue he accepts (p. 130) as belonging to the Pasiteles school, and, like the statue by Stephanos, a copy of an old model made slavishly.

of skill. Whether this difference of skill is precisely of that character which would be expected from an artist copying in the latter half of the 5th century B.C., and an artist copying in the latter half of the 1st century B.C., is a question which may not receive universal assent. In any case the Spartan torso is an instance of more or less free imitation in Greece at a considerably earlier period than that of the school of Pasiteles. Again the same result is obtained from comparing the measurements and style of a marble torso in Berlin with those of the statue by Stephanos in the Villa Albani; not that in this case the Berlin torso is known to have come from Greece.¹ Its excellence affords a presumption of such an origin.

If an analogy may be drawn from the history of vase painting during its transition from the black figure to the red figure style towards the end of the 5th century B.C., it would show that the approach of the new manner had produced a marked tendency to elaborate and over-refine the older style as if in defiance of innovation. Nor is it at all certain that this tendency was only of short duration. On the contrary it seems to have lasted a considerable time, and the probability is that the same tendency in contemporary sculpture also continued for long to exercise influence, if only in work of a subordinate character, the producers of which could not rise to the free and perfect style. We can imagine that subsequently, as each new school of sculpture set in, fresh compromises were made between them and the original type with which the resistance of innovation began. On this view of the case the sculptures of the school of Pasiteles might be held to represent the culmination of a series of compromises beginning in the

¹ Flasch, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, pl. 14, pp. 119-126, gives the Berlin torso in two views, and on pl. 15 the same, side by side with the statue by Stephanos, the result of

his comparison being again that the Berlin torso is an older copy from the same original as that which is copied slavishly in the statue by Stephanos.

5th century B.C., before the archaic manner was finally cast aside as a vital style of art. We could then see how it happens that in these sculptures there have been recognised characteristics so divergent as those of Polykleitos, Praxiteles, and Lysippos. It is easy, no doubt, to say, and it is true, that this combination of various characteristics is nothing more than mere eclecticism. But even eclecticism is not a thing of momentary inspiration. Our argument is, that it had been running its course of development long before the time of Pasiteles. It was he who brought it to full fruition in an age singularly favourable.

The author of five volumes on the principal sculptures existing in his day—especially when we consider that he was an industrious and popular artist—could not have been but well-informed in regard to the various styles or schools of Greece in older times. Himself the product of a growing eclecticism, he was of all persons the best qualified to develop it. Such was the position of Pasiteles. He acted in no way inconsistent with this faculty when he cultivated a careful study of nature, as he is inferred to have done; for direct observation of nature is perhaps by none more diligently practised than by those who over-refine and elaborate their works. When it is said that he never executed a piece of sculpture without first making a model of it, that is no more than must have been a general practice. It can only have been mentioned to emphasize the minute care bestowed on his models.¹

¹ Pliny, N. H. xxxiii. 156, sets Pasiteles in the time of Pompey the Great, and this is generally accepted as his date. Compare Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 595. According to Pliny (xxxvi. 40), he was born in Greece, but obtained Roman citizenship, made a figure of Jupiter in ivory in æde Metelli at Rome and narrowly escaped from a panther which had broken

loose while he was studying a lion close by for one of his works. It is from this incident that he is inferred to have studied nature. It is Pliny also (xxxv. 156) who reports him to have said that modelling in clay (*plasticè*) was the mother of *cælatura*, *statuaria* and *sculptura*, and adds that he never made any work without first making a model of it.

Nothing from the hand of Pasiteles is known at present. It has been proposed, however, to take the bronze statue of Apollo¹ found at Pompeii and now in Naples Museum, as a fair representative of his style, from the conviction that it stands towards the statue by Stephanos, as the work of a master would stand towards that of a pupil. Of the bronze in question the head, shoulders, and attitude are admittedly derived from a standard type of the 5th century B.C. ; while the treatment of details throughout the figure abounds in refined and subtle observation of reality, with this limitation, that the main desire has been to produce a sentimental effect. Herein may be traced the influence of Praxiteles, so far as an imitator can be said to be under any artistic influence. He takes what suits his purpose, and in the present case we cannot allow that even the purpose was an invention of his own, when we have seen something of the same kind in the Spartan torso, and have found that the tendency of imitation had invariably been towards over-refinement of details for the sake of sentimental effect. It is true that whenever an age of imitation set in, archaic art in its latest and best phase would always exercise a predominant attraction ; for this reason, that to a subsequent generation it shows plainly that the artists had much in their minds which they could not express. They were, in fact, sentimentalists by want of technical skill. But it does not follow that at each new age of imitation the imitators went directly back to the archaic manner instead of profiting by intermediate modifications of it.

If Pasiteles was the sculptor of the Pompeian bronze and only of works strictly identical with it in style, he was clearly surpassed in sentimentalism by his pupil Stephanos, if we may judge by the marble statue in the Villa Albani. But here a difficulty arises. The statue of Stephanos is identical in type with the Orestes in

¹ Engraved in Kekulé, *Gruppe des Menelaos*, pl. 1, fig. 1.

Naples, where he is grouped with Elektra (Fig. 26), and the Orestes in the Louvre, where he is grouped with Pylades. Both these groups are of marble, and no doubt were executed by two different artists belonging

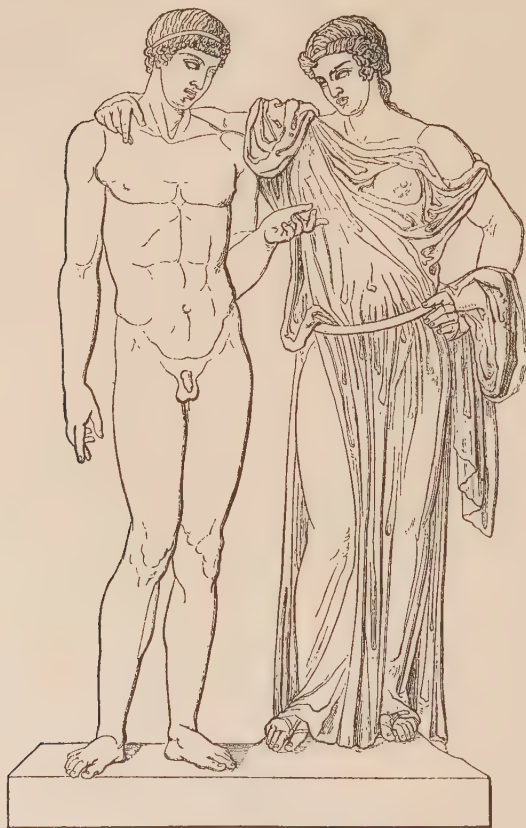


Fig. 26.—Marble group (Naples Museum).

to one and the same school. If Stephanos borrowed his figure from Pasiteles, so must also have they. But where then did they each obtain the idea of the companion figure? Possibly from Pasiteles also, if we may take Menelaos with his group in the Villa Ludovisi as representing his master Stephanos, and Stephanos again as representing his master Pasiteles. Thus out of this complication the way that suggests itself as the

most natural is, that Pasiteles, the original founder of the school in Rome, had executed a variety of groups and single statues, which Stephanos and others of the next generation reproduced with more or less freedom in detail, but holding firmly to the types of figures and general character of the groups established for them by the founder; that in the subsequent generation Menelaos and probably others had indulged in much greater individual freedom. But whatever the true explanation may be, the fact remains, that with steadfastness to a pronounced sentimentalism and observance of archaic types, this school allowed considerable latitude for the attainment of variety and novelty.

The group in the Louvre has a pathetic charm which invites us to associate the two figures with such names as Orestes and Pylades.¹ The same is true of the so-called Orestes and Elektra in Naples (Fig. 26). But in neither case is there the slightest evidence that these personages had been in reality thought of by the sculptors, who on the contrary were influenced paramountly by a sad sentimentality which had never been altogether absent from Greek sculpture, and which in some periods had flourished to excess, as witness the tombstones of Athens. It is a characteristic of the whole school, so far as it is known in existing sculptures, to be somewhat dismally sentimental, as if its occupation had been to produce sepulchral statues and groups. Even the group by Menelaos in the Villa Ludovisi is held to be best explained when it is supposed to illustrate one of the most affecting incidents of Greek legend, the story of Merope and Æpytos, while in truth it represents no incident in particular. Here the male figure is partly draped, and by no means rigidly repeats the type of the Orestes.² The female figure has the

¹ Engraved in Visconti, *Mon. Borghes.* pl. 4, fig. 2. Visconti calls the two figures Mercury and Vulcan, on the ground of the axe

and caduceus sculptured on the stem which serves as a support between the two statues.

² Kekulé, *Gruppe des Menelaos*,

proportions of a heroine,¹ and there can hardly be a doubt that the sculptor's aim was to represent an affectionate meeting or farewell of a mother and son. The sentiment is unmistakably that with which we are familiar on Greek funeral stelæ, even though the same details of action may not be found in them with which it is expressed in the marble groups.

The marble statue of a female runner in the Vatican, is another instance of copying from an original Greek work executed during a period of transition from the archaic to the free manner. But apparently here the copying has been more than usually faithful, so much so that the statue has passed with some competent judges as an exact transcript, and in no sense a production of the school of Pasiteles.² In their favour would be the circumstance that the subject—a female runner in the short dress worn at Olympia—is very different in character from that with which we are acquainted in the sculptures of this school; if it were not that this difference of subject may also be taken as evidence of a greater variety in the choice of subject on the part of Pasiteles and his followers than is assigned to them on the strength of their other works. Pasiteles himself is expressly recorded to have been extremely

pl. 3, fig. 3, gives the bronze statue of a Camillus in the Capitoline Museum, and assigns to it an interim stage between the statue by Stephanos and the group of Menelaos. Friederichs, Bausteine, p. 497, had regarded it as a purely Roman work. But Helbig, Camp. Wandmalerei, p. 20, vindicates the Greek origin of this type of statue, and thinks that a sculptor in Roman times, with many examples of this type before him, might easily have produced the bronze of the Capitol without claiming any real novelty in his style or treatment.

¹ See note p. 385 *ante*, where a precisely similar female statue is

mentioned, which, however, had been grouped with another figure different in attitude and action from the youth in the Ludovisi group.

² Helbig, Camp. Wandmalerei, p. 16, and Friederichs, Bausteine, p. 111. Compare Conze, Beiträge, p. 28. Kekulé, Gruppe des Menelaos, p. 29, contends that even if he is wrong in regarding this statue as a study executed in a school akin to that of Pasiteles, and not as an exact copy of an archaic Greek sculpture, yet this one figure would not at least decide the whole question as to the position of Pasiteles and his school. It is engraved in Visconti, Mus. Pio-Clement. iii. pl. 27.

varied in his designs, and possibly the female runner may best be traced to him, or to a somewhat earlier worker in the same field, from whom he had directly inherited his manner. As we have said, he cannot be imagined to have himself suddenly sprung this manner, so to speak, upon the world.

The sculptor Arkesilaos, a contemporary of Cæsar, is mentioned side by side with Pasiteles in two particulars, first as having made preliminary models of his designs, which appear to have been highly prized even by artists, and secondly as having produced a group of a lioness with Cupids sporting round her, which Varro its owner valued very highly. In one instance, his model was made in plaster (gypsum).¹ When he attempted statues of a higher order, such as his Venus Genetrix or his Felicitas,² the result, so far as can be gathered, goes to show a marked deficiency of imagination, not compensated for by the elaborate finish bestowed on them. He was more at home evidently where the subject was of a fanciful nature, as in the marble group of a lioness. Like many of the Pompeian painters, or, to go further back, like the makers of those almost innumerable terra-cottas of Tanagra, he knew how to catch a passing whim or fancy, and use it for the delight of an artificial society. He was clearly one of those who set the example which ultimately filled the Roman world with what may be called daintiness in art,

¹ Pliny, N. H. xxxv. 156, says that a model of a vase by him was purchased for a talent, and a little before he says that the *proplasmata* of Arkesilaos were valued even by artists at more than the actual works of others. Immediately after he speaks of the models of Pasiteles. He introduces the group of the lioness (xxxvi. 41) after having told the story of the escape of Pasiteles. It is clear therefore that these two artists ranked together in his mind, or rather in

the mind of Varro from whom he quotes.

² Pliny, N. H. xxxv. 156. The Felicitas remained unfinished at his death. The Venus Genetrix has been recognised on a coin of Sabina, and in several marble statues. See Brunn, Gr. Künstler, i. p. 601, who sees in their close-lying drapery corroboration of the minute care of execution implied in the statements about the highly finished models made by Arkesilaos.

in comparison with which even the coarseness of Gallo-Roman or British-Roman productions is often a source of pleasure.

In the Louvre is a marble statue generally known as Germanicus, sculptured throughout with a refinement which very decidedly recalls the school of Pasiteles. It bears the name of an Athenian sculptor, Kleomenes, son of Kleomenes, who, it is clear, has followed carefully and laboriously an older model. A little judgment would have shown him that with such workmanship in the figure a realistic portrait head could never be combined without a disagreeable effect. He could surely have yielded to this only under pressure of fashion. Yet it must stand against him that he yielded. Possibly it was from the inscription on this statue that the present base of the Venus de Medici was invented, and so altered that the Kleomenes there said to be the sculptor of the Venus is called a son of Apollodoros. The base of the Venus de Medici may be taken as modern, and in any case the workmanship of the statue has no relation to that of the Germanicus, or, indeed, to any definite school in Roman times.¹ It is the production of a copyist, changing a little, for the sake of novelty, the attitude of the Venus of Knidos by Praxiteles. Of such copyists there were many, known by name and unknown, of whom it would be profitless to speak. They represent Greek art only in the same sense in which a sculptor of our day represents it who devotes himself to a rigidly faithful study of the antique.

In the time of Nero, the sculptor Zenodoros, having worked ten years on a statue of Mercury for the Arverni, was summoned to Rome to execute a colossal statue of that Emperor 110 feet high.² It is curious to observe with what interest Pliny viewed the clay model when he saw it in the studio. But he adds: "This statue shows that the art of casting in bronze had been lost, Nero being profuse in his supply of gold and silver, and

¹ Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, p. 16.

² Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 45.

Zenodoros being second to none of the ancients so far as modelling and chasing were concerned." Modelling and elaborate chasing in the precious metals had driven the old art of casting in bronze out of the field. Zenodoros is said to have imitated two cups chased by Kalamis so closely that no difference could be found. We may question whether Kalamis had ever done work of this kind, but the fact may be allowed to remain that Zenodoros was a skilful imitator of archaic designs.

Taking the work of Zenodoros as a fair example of what was the ordinary occupation of Greek sculptors under the Roman Empire, we may look back on the school of Pasiteles as in effect the last throb of that artistic pulsation which had beat with all the fulness of life in Pheidias, had become quickened in Praxiteles and Skopas, and had increased feverishly at Pergamos. Possibly this last effort had hastened the general decline. Otherwise it is difficult to understand how, for example, portraiture had not longer maintained a high level, seeing that the Romans possessed an undoubted love for and appreciation of it, and seeing that the Greeks had acquired, from the time of Alexander onwards, an extraordinary facility in this branch of art. No doubt there have survived a number of very effective portraits from the time of the Empire, in which it is impossible to deny a certain measure of true Greek spirit. We may take, as an example, the bust of Domitia in the British Museum. And again, in regard to the portraits of Antinous finely represented by the bust in the British Museum,¹ it must be allowed that, whatever his natural beauty, a substantial effort had been made to impart to it an ideal character based on Greek principles. But these and the like instances are only exceptions, where much of the same kind might have been looked for if Greek portrait sculpture had not become thoroughly Romanized, and therefore lost all claim to any further description of its existence in this place.

¹ Museum Marbles, xi. pl. 25.

It is the lot of those who follow to the end any special movement of civilization, to part with it in the gloom of its dejection. In some cases, there is reserved the prospect of a revival. For Greek sculpture, as an animating influence, there is hardly any such hope. We must be satisfied with the conviction that in its time it was a movement that called into full play many of the best qualities with which men are endowed.



Marble Statuette of Aphrodite, from Antarados (British Museum).

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